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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

SESSION OF 1873-74.

**PAPER I.—SIEGES, AND THE CHANGES PRODUCED
BY MODERN WEAPONS.**

By LT.-COL. STRANGE, DOMINION INSPECTOR OF ARTILLERY.

(Read before the Society, March 18th, 1874.)

In the last paper I had the honor of reading before this Society, I endeavoured to give an artillery retrospect of the last great war; but an evening-hour I found too short to give you more than a tactical artillery sketch and some technical details as to the quality of the guns used. I propose, this evening, to resume that part of the subject which treats of modern sieges, commencing with a cursory glance at ancient sieges, in which you will excuse me if I descend to elementary principles, with which a majority of you are, doubtless, familiar, but to which it is necessary to draw the attention of some of my non-military audience, to enable them to get a clear insight into the changes produced by modern weapons.

The subject naturally divides itself into

- INVESTMENTS,
- BOMBARDMENTS, and
- REGULAR SIEGES.

If your patience will permit, I will conclude with a few remarks on the famous fortress in which we live, the

Gibraltar of this continent, its present armament—or, if I speak truth, its present disarmament—and the part it might yet be called upon to play as the gate of British North America,—the last spot on which the old flag we love once floated, when it had been swept from this continent by our foes in 1775, and waved alone on Cape Diamond; from thence it has been carried, by the indomitable courage of our race, from the Atlantic to the Pacific slopes. It may be trite, but none the less true, that history repeats itself.

The primary object of fortification was to enable the few to hold their own against the many,—the weak against the strong; to prevent surprise, and gain time for organized defence. Before the days of artillery, massive continuous walls protected unwarlike citizens from the sudden incursions of fiercer foes. The great wall of China against the Tartars, and that of Agricola to keep out the Picts and Scots, the walls of Babylon and others, were of this character. The besiegers raised a large mound of earth to command the walls, and surrounded the city with lines of circumvallation to confine the garrison.

The battering-ram was the chief agent in breaching ancient walls. A huge beam, sometimes 100 feet long, with a metal head, was horizontally suspended by ropes, generally under a shed, to protect the assailants, and made to oscillate by manual power, striking the wall until it crumbled to ruin. Josephus says that no walls were able to resist this weapon. The upper story of the shed or moveable tower (the beffroi of the middle ages) was occupied by archers, who could command the walls of the besieged. In all battering or breaching, the weight of *missile* or striking object and velocity of impact are the two factors producing the result.

The theory and practice of gunnery prove that the weight multiplied by the square of the velocity on impact,

divided by force of gravity, equals the work stored up in the *missile*, $\frac{W V^2}{2 G}$, if you will forgive the use of formulæ. In the battering-ram, the force of gravity was in suspension; the weight was enormous, the velocity being low, compared to the 1,300 feet per second of a projectile from a rifled gun. The vibration produced by the quick succession of blows on the same spot produced the results which, in modern days, are effected by breaching-batteries at long range.

The first step in defence against battering-rams was a ditch, which prevented the engine being brought near enough to the walls; and the counter-step of attack was to descend into the ditch by excavating a covered gallery, mining under the walls, and supporting them by beams of timber, which, when set fire to by the besiegers, crumbled away and caused the fall of the unsupported wall.

The defence against this species of attack led to the Matchicouli gallery, or projection of the upper part of the walls, giving that picturesqueness to military ruins which, however, those made by the Corporation of Quebec do not at present possess. There were spaces in the floor of the projecting Matchicouli which enabled the besiegers to pour melted lead, boiling water, stones, and arrows, on the assailants at the foot of the wall.

Flank defence was obtained by the projecting towers, in which may be found the germ of Vauban's bastioned trace (plate 1, fig. 1). The larger bastion for artillery, and the flank at right angles to the face of the bastion, enabling it to be seen to its salient, might, perhaps, in these days, be designated as a Darwinian development (fig. 2).

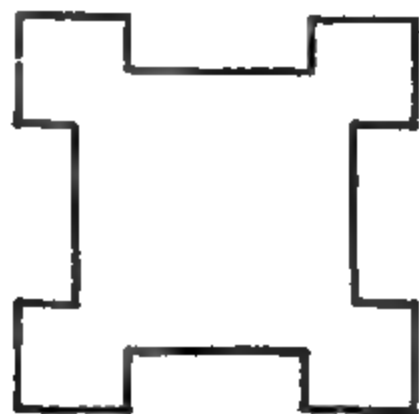
In addition to the battering-ram and the undermining of walls, various engines were used, throwing huge stones and other projectiles, and sometimes the carcass of an

unhappy captive, who was thus set free from his sorrows and sent back to his friends. The Balista Catapulta (see fig. 3) are of the time of Julius Cæsar.

The huge unwieldy cannon cast on the spot by Sultan Muhamed II. for the siege of Constantinople, in 1451, were, from their cost and immobility, seldom imitated (fig. 4, plate 1). Some of them remain at the Straits of the Dardanelles to this day, monuments of the skill and energy of a Mahomedan people, once the terror of Europe, who still linger on its confines.

Passing by the feudal castles and those of the predatory chieftains of the middle ages, which occupy more of a personal than national place in military history, being, for the most part (for rapine and security from its consequences), built on isolated hills, they were seldom found in the fertile valleys that cause the confluence of rivers and the natural roads of traffic. Such valleys were the natural sites of free fortified cities, whose sturdy burghers were not, as yet, too effeminate to defend their commerce. Soon, however, with the consolidated power of kings, artillery, and standing armies, these cities became regular fortresses for defence of frontiers, as well as magazines and *dépôts* of stores, serving also as bases of supply when invading a neighbouring territory. The walls so easily destroyed by artillery had to be sunk and covered with earth; and these walled ditches were given a trace, so that every part could be seen and flanked by some other part. This led to the outline of Vauban's system, with its projecting salients; and the great engineer was the first artillerist to find a means of attacking his own and kindred systems, no longer at the mercy of direct fire,—so true is the dictum, "*Pour être ingénieur on doit surtout être artilleur.*" At the siege of Ath, in 1697, Vauban introduced enfilade ricochet fire, which system gave the advantage to attack over defence. By erecting batteries on the prolongations of the long faces of his salients, using a

FIG. 1



FLANK DEFENCE

FIG. 2

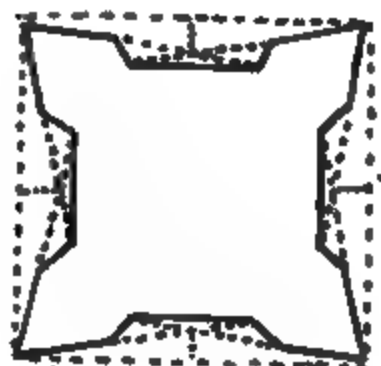


FIG. 3

FIG. 4



FIG. 5



reduced charge and high elevation, the shot were made to bound along the line of the enemy's works, destroying material and men. When the guns on these long faces were dismounted or silenced, he made his zig-zag approaches, directed outside the neighboring salients, on the capitals of those he was attacking ; so that these *boyaux* could not be seen into or enfiladed, as the long lines of the fortresses had previously been. Gradually, as the trenches reached the escarp or wall of the ditch, breaching-batteries were established there.

A breach and lodgment was effected, and each captured out-work became, in its turn, a *point d'appui* for the attack of the next; so the fall of the place, under ordinary circumstances, became a question of time, unless in such naturally strong positions that the prolongation of the faces fell on marshes or rocky soil unsuitable for the excavation of trenches or batteries.

In the days of *Le Grand Monarque* sieges were so prolonged, and the reduction of a fortress considered of such consequence as to become the object of and occupy the energies of a whole campaign. The rapid fall of French fortresses has made us forget that Sevastopol was the sole trophy of united French and English effort during the Crimean campaign, and that the quadrilateral of northern Italy stayed the tide of conquest of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel. Before these days, however, the military genius of Prussia, under Frederick the Great, and France, under Napoleon I., had learned to mask fortresses and decide the fate of empires in the field.

There are some who argue, from the rapid downfall of French fortresses, that all fortifications are useless; that the cruel effects of bombardment, complete investments, and famine, have relegated sieges to the history of the past; and that fortification is a useless provocative of human suffering. I wish, with all my heart, that I could

•

think it were so. But there are circumstances where no amount of disarmament and self-abasement will purchase for a people immunity from suffering, even though they hold lightly their own manhood and the surrender of the birthright of their children, purchased with the blood of their forefathers. They must endure, in pocket and person, the rapacity of their invaders, and contribute to the support of war for their own conquest; whereas a little foresight, a little self-denial in peace, will produce that preparedness for war which is the palladium of national security.

It is not safe to jump at conclusions without due consideration of the causes that have produced certain results.

The practical answer of the Germans, after their experience, is to strengthen the most important strongholds they have wrested from the French, building detached forts, which keep an enemy at a distance.* Let us hear a French opinion, even in the bitterness of defeat :

“ La résistance souvent courte et inefficace de nos places,
“ dans la guerre que nous venons de soutenir contre les
“ Allemands, a dû nécessairement frapper l’opinion publique,
“ et il est à craindre que l’on ne soit tenté d’en conclure à
“ l’impuissance de la fortification. Cependant la cause de
“ ces faits se trouve bien plutôt dans le manque des éléments

* NOTE.—There are at this moment 10,000 workmen employed on the forts at Strasbourg and a large number at Metz. The smaller fortresses in places of no strategic importance are to be dismantled. A useless number of fortresses absorbs an army of defenders, who must surrender if the more important places fall. Sedan was a mere trap for the French army, from its situation in a basin (plate 4, figure 10), its useless armament of smooth-bore guns, and the political madness which necessitated a line of operations inevitably ending in a battle, with the line of retreat cut off by neutral territory.

TABLE No. 1.—German Attack on the Southern Forts of Paris.

POSITION OF BATTERY.	Number of Battery	Calibre	NATURE	Range, Metres.	Relative Level of Battery and Object, in Metres.	No. of Rounds said to have been Fired	OBJECTS.
Behind Pavillon de Breteuil, in Part of St. Cloud..	I.	6	{ At first 24-Prs.; afterwards 12-Prs.	2100	+ 72	1250—2670	{ Point du Jour and Billancourt.
Left Flank of Terrace of Meudon.....	II.	8	4 12-Prs.—4 24-Prs.	2020	+ 80	1840—1460	{ Boulogne and the Seine.
Terrace of Meudon.....	III.	6	2 12-Prs.—4 24-Prs.	2000	+ 80	{ 1310 from 12-Prs. 1680 " 24 "	{ Point du Jour and the North Branch of the Seine.
Do. ..	IV.	6	Do. do. { 2 12-Prs. 2 6-Prs. 2 24-Prs.	2200	+ 80	About the same. 220 from 12-Prs. 2200 " 24 "	{ Fort Issy.
Southern part of Wood of Meudon.....	V.	6	{ 2 12-Prs.—4 24-Prs.	2500	about + 60	610 " 6 "	{ Ditto.
South-east of No. V., at Southern edge of Wood..	VI.	6	24-Prs.	2800—3000	+ 78	1060	{ Vanves.
Left Battery on Heights of Chailion.....	VII.	6	2 12-Prs.—4 24-Prs.	2200	+ 60	{ 450 from 12-Prs. 2600 " 24 "	{ Issy.
Plateau	VIII.	6	24-Prs.	1780	+ 75	2360	{ Vanves.
Ditto	IX.	6	12-Prs.	1840—2020	+ 75	4000	{ For enfilading Vanves and Montrouge.
To East	X.	6	24-Prs.	2600	+ 60	1000	{ Probably Montrouge.
Due S.W.	XI.	6	12-Prs.	2600	+ 16	1840	{ Probably Montrouge.
north-east of Fontenay-aux-Roses, one on each side of the road.....	XII.	6	24-Prs.	3000	+ 30	2760	{ Issy and Vanves.
Plateau of Chailion, west of No. VII.....	XIII.	2	{ 6, 26-in. Rifled Mortars, elevation up to 80 deg.	{ 2010 and 3060	+ 60 and 70	600 (about).	
of No. IX.....	XIV.	2	Ditto.	1680 and 2180	Ditto.	600 (about).	
.....	XV.	2	Ditto.	2240	+ 4	800 (about).	
.....	XVI.	6	12-Prs.	2400	+ 80	1730	{ Montrouge.
.....	XVII.	6	12-Prs.	1800—2300	+ 75	2430	{ Ground in front of Fort Issy.
.....	XVIII.	6	Bronze 24-Prs.	2300—2600	+ 16	3600	{ French Earthworks between Issy and Vanves.
.....	XIX.	6	6 short 24-Prs. 2 to 4 long 24-Prs.	1600—2400	+ 30	{ 3000 1100	{ Montrouge and Paris.
The Swiss Chalet, N. of Wood of Meudon.....	XX.	{ 6 in	Long 24-Prs.	2500—2600	+ 45	2050	{ Breaching curtain S. front of Issy; also against Paris.
Wood of Meudon, by Porte de Clamart.....	XXI.	6	Short 24-Prs.	1800	+ 23	1880	{ N. front of Vanves and left face of N.-W. section.
To West of Village of Chailion	XXII.	6	24-Prs.	2300—2600	+ 16	1700	{ South front of Vanves.
Close to left of No. XVIII	XXIII.	4	60-Py. Mortars.	1100	+ 30	260	{ Montrouge and Paris.
Right rear of the Moulin en Pierre.....							{ Fort of Issy and advanced works.

“nécessaires pour utiliser convenablement nos forteresses
 “que dans la nature même de leur rôle et des services
 “qu’elles peuvent rendre. Pour qu’une place paralyse un
 “grand nombre d’ennemis et résiste longtemps, il lui faut,
 “en plus de ses remparts, des approvisionnements et une
 “garnison suffisante. Il faut, en un mot, qu’on veuille,
 “qu’on sache et qu’on puisse la défendre.”

The most notable captures of fortified towns were those of Paris, Strasbourg, Belfort, Metz, Thionville, Toul, New Breisach, Schelestadt, and Sedan.

There were two sieges of Paris: the first, by the Germans, was a complete and enormously extended investment, producing scarcity of provisions, combined with bombardment of the town, and a not very successful effort at breaching from a distance a few of the detached forts. Fort Issy, on the south side, was made the focus of gun-fire attack, 46 pieces converging upon it from the terrace and woods of Meudon, the plateau of Chatillon, and the *moulin-en-pierre* batteries.

TABLE I. of the German attack on the southern forts of Paris gives the position of the batteries; shews the number and nature of the guns, range, relative level of batteries, the amount of ammunition expended, and the object of fire. The guns and mortars were all rifled except four 50-pounder mortars. There were in the siege-train also four rifled 21-centimètre mortars, throwing a projectile of 180 lbs.; but no *guns* heavier than our 64-pounders were mounted.

It must be borne in mind that the Prussian B. L. rifled 4-pounder throws a shell 10 lbs.

6	“	“	“	15	“
12	“	“	“	30	“
24	“	“	“	60	“

There were no regular parallels or approaches of attack. Circumstances of ground generally decided the position of each battery, rather than the old rules for placing batteries especially to enfilade, counter-batter, or breach.

Indeed, the *first* point of difference between the late sieges and those of former wars was, that the regular approach, until breaching-batteries were erected on the *éscarp*, was no longer necessary, from the greater accuracy, range, and shell-power of rifled guns, the curved trajectory of which, just clearing the crest of the glacis, could at long range effect a breach (plate 3, figures 6 and 8); while the large arc, of two thousand yards radius, or thereabouts, offered a great choice of position.

The Germans generally chose the reverse slope of high ground, so that a slight excavation in rear left the natural surface of the ground for the body of the parapet more solid than any elevated construction (plate 4, fig. 9). Traverses were not dug out to be again filled in, but emplacements for guns cut out of the reverse slope of the hill; the intervening space left as a traverse, sometimes excavated to contain an expense magazine.

Whenever available, the batteries were built a little distance within woods and orchards, which concealed their construction and armament. At the desired moment the trees in the line of fire were half-cut through; the first discharge blew them down, and such as did not impede fire were left on the ground as *abbatis*, their pointed branches towards the front forming an obstacle to *coup-de-main* (plate 4, figure 9).

When necessarily in the open, a sham-battery or screen, when no natural one was available, was thrown up in front of the real battery, at 50 or 60 yards from it, to deceive the

Fig. 2

enemy and attract some portion of his fire. I was told by *soi-disant* eye-witnesses that snow-screens were even on some occasions used, and blank cartridges exploded in their sham embrasures; certainly, piles of firewood, and even brush-wood that happened to be on the spot, had been utilized as screens.

It must not be supposed that the Prussians had a monopoly of military intelligence. In some schools of instruction for the British army, the laying aside of the old system of attack and its stereotyped rules had been anticipated and put into instructional practice long before the first note of war; and Prussian officers have been pretty frequent visitors at our gunnery experiments and Shoeburyness School of Instruction.

Perhaps the *second lesson* of detail to be learnt is the fact that embrasures are funnels directing the enemy's fire into the battery, an evil which increases with the thickness of parapet, due to rifled-gun penetration.

The Prussian siege-guns had an iron bracket bolted on to the ordinary travelling-carriage (plate 4, fig. 9), which raised the trunnions at least six feet above the ground. No man of the detachment is ever under direct fire, except the slight exposure of No. 1 in laying, who, of course, in order to see, must be seen; and, with breech-loading guns firing at high angles, as they would be at long ranges, the breech comes conveniently down for loading.

The French occasionally, in their fortresses, made use of a barbette carriage more unwieldy, without gaining sufficient cover, and not suitable for travelling.

Occasionally the Prussian guns were fired by pointing rods on the parapet, on the same principle as mortars: the wheels were on two long inclined planes (1 in 6), with flanges on the inside; while the trail rested on planks on

the ground-level, which gives increased elevation, the platform resembling that of Colonel Clark, R.A. The guns recoiling, the wheels run up the ascent, and then quietly run down to their former convenient position for breech-loading (plate 4, fig. 9).

As before stated, there were no regular parallels of communication between the batteries; but the accidental cover given by houses, sheds, garden-walls, &c., was always utilized as a covered-way. In the open, when absolutely exposed, narrow trenches, about five feet deep and two feet wide, were run along, affording cover for single file. On the other hand, the batteries were almost always constructed near railroads or on the numerous good high-roads leading to Paris from the rear, affording facilities for armament and the bringing up of projectiles. Thus, construction of batteries on the great highways of the country may be considered as the *third* characteristic of modern attack, rendered doubly necessary to the Germans on account of their great distance from the primary bases of operation in their own country. Possibly the rival importance of munitions *de guerre* and munitions *de bouche*—the fact that every projectile brought to the front meant so much less sausage, so much less bread—was one reason why the process of complete investment and partial bombardment was preferred to vigorous, breaching attack, the Prussians judging that the hearts and stomachs of the Parisians were more vulnerable than their fortifications.

Indeed, the most formidable breach made by the Prussians, which was at fort "Issy," was scarcely practicable, as an assault could not have passed over the parapet by it; and though two adjacent casemates were cut into by curved fire with reduced charges, long shells, and percussion fuses, yet the defenders appear immediately to have barricaded the breach with sand-bags, backed with earth

FIG. 11

and stones,—a difficult task, if we remember that the ground was frozen during the abnormal severity of that winter. The powder-magazine of the nearest battery to fort Issy, *moulin-en-pierre*, about one thousand metres distant, was blown up.

The heaviest guns used in the defence at “Issy” were 6½-inch M. L. rifled; and, considering the enormous amount of fire concentrated upon it, the breach seems, in my opinion, to have been not a surprising artillery success. A far more effective breach was made at the same spot (fort Issy) by the French artillery of the Versailles army, at the second siege, with less effective weapons, after the Prussians had gained possession of the best French ordnance (plate 5, fig. 11). The French also suffered from using embrasures more than the German gunners in the same batteries.

The French artillery deserve infinite credit for the manner in which they utilized a quantity of old bronze smooth-bore guns by rifling and making projectiles. In some instances I found old-fashioned guns with the date and arms of Louis Quatorze, which had been so rifled, and done duty in the second siege. The sketch of the breach at fort “Issy” is enlarged from a drawing I made on the spot immediately after the second siege: it is, of course, quite an indefensible breach, and a remarkable instance of the terrific power of modern artillery (plate 5, fig. 11).

The French officer, who looked over my shoulder, said, with a sad smile: “And you, too, our comrades of the “Crimea, have come over to sneer and find fault.” “*Væ victis!*” is an old story with the world in general; but British officers, as a rule, seek to learn their profession by a dispassionate search for truth.

Whatever may be said of the *Garde Mobile* and *Moblots* of sorts who so feebly defended the French fortresses, and yet broke into fierce political strife while their country was under

the foot of the invader, does not apply to the marine, nor to the regular French artillery, a mere handful of whom defended the French fortresses; and this deficiency of regular artillerymen was one great cause of disaster. Garrison artillery is not a showy service, and was, therefore, somewhat neglected in France for the more dashing service of the mounted batteries. I was much struck with this deficiency before the war. The few regular artillery found in French fortresses did their duty to the utmost, and the officers of that branch were gallant gentlemen, of high scientific attainments, from the *Ecole Polytechnique*.

I was told a somewhat characteristic story of a young French lieutenant of artillery, conspicuous for his devotion in the batteries of Paris, who, nevertheless, managed to spend in musical recreation most of the few short hours left for rest. As provisions got scarcer, his meat-ration was reduced to a sparrow per diem; these he kept in a cage at the window near his piano, and fed with the crumbs of his daily biscuit. His landlady anxiously watched him growing thinner and paler, and entreated, in vain, to be allowed to transform his little pets into a delicious *pâté d'alouettes*. At length his bullet found its destined billet: a Prussian shell struck the cage at the window, and death liberated the young lieutenant and his pets as he sat at his piano singing his own last requiem. I was assured of the truth of the story. "*Si non e vero, ben trovato.*"

It is typical of the fact that the coarser qualities called forth by war, the sights of suffering and the sense of personal danger, do not necessarily alter a refined nature, which often combines the tenderness of a woman with the highest courage of a man. It is not altogether strange that it should be so, when we remember that the utmost tenderness, the highest personal courage and endurance, were characteristic of the one perfect Man whom we

TABLE No. 2.---Bombardment of the Northern Defences of Paris, 1870-71.

POSITION OF BATTERY.	Number of Battery.	No. of Pieces.	Range, Mètres.	Command of Battery over Object, in Mètres.	OBJECTS.
By Road to Garges, N. W. of Stains.....	XXII.	14	3200	+ 6	E. Face Double Couronne.
N. of Stains.....	XXIII.		3280	+ 11	Ditto.
Ditto	XXIV.		2940	+ 16	Ditto.
Ditto	XXV.		3070	+ 14	Ditto.
E. of Pierrefite, near Railway.....	XXVI.	3	1962	+ 12	N. Face of Ditto.
Heights of Faucelle, E. Slope.....	XXVII.	6	2360	+ 32	Ditto.
Ditto, in rear of Quarry, W. Slope.....	XXVIII.	8 to 10	2460	+ 40	Ditto.
On the Pavillon Rouge, before Montmorency.....	XXIX.	10	4600	+ Considerable.	Fort La Briche.
Ditto, ditto,	3 others.	18	4600	do.	Ditto.
Before Denil.....	1 other.	3	3400	do.	Against Epinay.
.....	XXX.	18	3700	+ Slight.	Ag'tst N.W. Face Dble. Couronne, or perhaps La Briche.
.....	others.			do.	La Briche.
South of Railway, near LaBarre	XXXI.	6	3000	do.	Ditto.
Before Engheim	XXXII.	6	3000	do.	Ditto.
Before Ormesen, at level crossing.....	One.	6	2600	+ 3	Ditto.
Before St. Gratien.....	One.	6	4400		Ditto.
Near Epinay, by roadside.....	One.	5	2500	+ 6	Double Couronne.
The Butte Pison.....	2 or 3	24	4270	+ over 50	Ditto.
Between Pierrefite and Stains.....	Several.	24		+ Slight.	Ditto.
Before Stains.....	1 or 2	6		+ Slight.	Ditto.

have been for 1800 years more or less feebly trying to imitate, and He took His human nature from his mother only.

To turn to the German bombardment of the north forts of Paris, by about 80 siege and 30 field-guns, which were chiefly directed from three points (see TABLE II.) on the "double Couronne," at ranges from 2,000 to 4,000 metres. Fort La Briche was also attacked by some 60 pieces. The double Couronne did not suffer much; but part of the town of St. Dennis, in rear, was ruined. Mount Valérien, on the west, seemed quite intact; and, indeed, its command was such that very few shells are said to have reached the plateau.

The most interesting feature of the German artillery attack on the east was the plateau of Averon, which had been occupied with French outworks. I was much struck with the German sunken batteries, masked by trees, and enfilading the French salient from the reverse slopes of the opposite hills, in close proximity to the line of rail from Strasbourg bringing up armament and munitions.

The Prussian commandant of artillery (to whom I had a letter of introduction, through the kindness of Colonel Roerdentz, of the Prussian artillery) informed me that those batteries had been armed under cover of the trees, and regulated their fire to a great extent by signals from an officer, who, with a sergeant and a couple of men, ensconced himself in an abandoned French villa in line with their works, keeping the Venetian blinds closed towards the French, and signalling to his comrades from the back windows. Their fire necessarily became most accurate, as they were also guided by very complete plans of the place on which the lines of fire were drawn and the ranges measured. The same distinguished artillery-officer, General

Von Decker, who directed the attack at Strasbourg, most courteously shewed me the plans he had used.

He seemed to attach the greatest importance to such a use of plans for the direction of artillery-fire. I only wish I had found some Departments, with which I have closer relations, as facile on the subject of plans as the commandant of Prussian artillery.

With these few remarks on what I think important points, I must close this outline-sketch of German artillery-attack on Paris. Time and space do not admit of my describing the lines of investment, 50 miles in circumference, or the various sorties and the great battles around Paris in her efforts to break the fiery circle of her foes.

SECOND SIEGE OF PARIS.

The most important batteries are given in TABLE III.; but, in addition, the old German batteries at "Meudon," "Clamert," and "Chatillon," were rearmed by the French with the smooth-bore bronze converted rifled guns before mentioned, embrasures being, of necessity, cut for the low French carriages and rope mantlets, resembling those used in the Crimea, affording but partial protection to the gunners.

The gaps cut in the *enceinte* for exit by the main roads, during peace, formed the chief points of attack; and the temporary barricades were almost swept away by artillery-fire. The Porte d'Auteuil and the houses around Point-du-Jour suffered very much, and give some idea of the destruction produced by modern artillery; yet, from all I could gather, the actual loss of life among the non-combatants was exceedingly small: they remained tolerably secure, if not comfortable, in the cellars of their houses.

Woods, composed of trees large enough to explode a percussion-fuse on impact, afford almost complete immunity

TABLE No. 3.---Second Siege of Paris, 1871.

POSITION OF BATTERY.	No. of Pcs.	NATURE.	Range. Mètres.	No. of Rounds Fired.	Relative Level of Battery and Object, in Mètres.	OBJECTS.
Terrace of Valérien.....	16	B L., Naval.	6160	.....	+ 120	Porte Maillot.
Batteries (seven) at Montretout.....	76	Ditto.	3145	40 r. units 75 gun 75 day.	+ 60	Porte d'Auteuil and Porte St. Cloud.
Ditto at Bellevue.....	8 to 10	{ M. L. From 25 Riff., about 50-Pra. }	2850	.....	+ 54	Porte St. Cloud and Point du Jour; also the Seine.
Batteries in N. Front of Issy to E. of Gate	3	Ditto	2140	1500	+ 52 }	To form breach at Point du Jour and enceinte near Grenelle.
Ditto ditto to W. of Gate.	5	Ditto.	2140	.....	+ 52 }	To form breach at Point du Jour and enceinte near Grenelle.
Batteries in Bois de Boulogne, most of them in rear of the "Lakes".....	62	{ Chiefly Bronze R M L. about 50-P. mortars and about 10 Mortars. }	{ 900 about }	.....	.....	To counter-batter enceinte and keep down fire of defence.
Park of St. Cloud, at La Lanterne.....	not known.	{ }	About 3100	{ }	+ 56 }	On enceinte towards Point du Jour and Boulogne.
Ditto, at Bréteuil.....		{ }		{ }	+ 72 }	
Ditto, at Porte du Mail.....		{ }		{ }	+ 4 }	

from fire at such a distance back in the wood as that the view towards the enemy is obstructed by the trunks of trees. In the Bois de Boulogne lived an elderly lady, who had not, she assured me, left her cottage during the whole siege. The trees between the house and the *enceinte* were very much torn and cut about by projectiles; but only one splinter of shell had struck a corner of the house, and done but little damage.

A very rough species of narrow, shallow, double-flying sap, it might be called, which gave many lines of musketry fire, and looked like the trace of a dislocated gridiron, had been pushed from the Bois de Boulogne close to the *enceinte*, after the parapets were comparatively cleared of defenders by curved shrapnel-fire and musketry.

SIEGE OF STRASBOURG.

This siege was, perhaps, the most regular of any during the war (plate 2, fig. 5). The bombardment of the town, which began on the 24th of August, having failed to produce surrender, the first parallel was traced at about 800 yards from the *enceinte*, and completed by the 28th. Batteries for 46 guns were finished by the end of the month; the second parallel was finished at the end of the first week in September, and the third parallel begun on the 12th. The close attack was almost entirely carried on by flying sap. Wall-pieces, with picked marksmen and light field-guns, were pushed forward in the trenches, and very much facilitated the approaches. About 240 siege-guns were placed in position. TABLE IV. gives details shewing a total of 193,000 rounds fired in a month—an average of 6,000 rounds per diem.

Two practicable breaches were made: that on the right face of Lunette No. 53 took four days and about 1,000

rounds; that on the right face of bastion No. 11, only eighteen hours and 600 rounds (plate 2, figure 5).

These results were produced by curved fire from rifled guns, of which I will endeavour here to give a brief description.

In these days of long-range small-arm breech-loaders, breaching-batteries, as I before explained, have to be opened at considerable distances, and often in such positions that they may be built and armed without observation: the gunners, therefore, labor under the disadvantage of not being able to see the object of fire. The masonry of a fortress being covered by the glacis, the shell must be made to lob over the crest of the glacis or projecting counter-guard, and strike the escarp-wall sufficiently low down for the *débris* to form a practicable breach (figures 6, 7 and 8, plate 3). This means a curved trajectory, or a considerable angle of descent, necessitating high elevation and low final velocity, combined, of necessity, with diminished penetration and accuracy, demanding considerably more skill from the gunners than the old method of direct fire at short range.

For curved fire, the distance of the batteries from the work being known from the map or calculated by range-finder, the required angle of descent must be ascertained by construction from profiles of the fortress, and the amount of the charge that will give such angle found from tables or calculated. Some visible part of the work directly above or near the spot of the required breach is selected, and fired at with a given number of rounds, to find the point of mean impact, which is then transferred to the spot intended to breach, calculating the decrease of elevation and the amount of deflexion to the right or left. A horizontal cut is first made in the masonry, about one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) the height of the wall from the bottom (plate 3, figs. 6 and 7).

TABLE No. 4.—SIEGE OF STRASBOURG.

Against Citadel.	Against Town.	NATURE.	No. of Rounds said to have been Fired.
16	30	Long B. L. R. 24-Prs.....	28,000 Shells (5,000 of them Shrapnel Shells).
.....	12	Short B. L. R. 24-Prs.....	45,000 do. do. do.
16	64	B. L. R. 12-Prs.....	11,000 Shrapnel.
.....	20	Ditto 6-Prs.....	8,000 Shells and 4,000 Shrapnel.
.....	2	Rifled Mortars of 8·3-in.....	600 Shells.
.....	19	Mortars, 50-Prs.	15,000 ditto.
4	20	Mortars, 25-Prs.....	20,000 ditto.
.....	30	Hand ditto, 7-Prs.....	23,000 ditto.
8	.....	Mortars, 60-Prs.....	3,000 ditto.

FIG. 5

FIG. 8

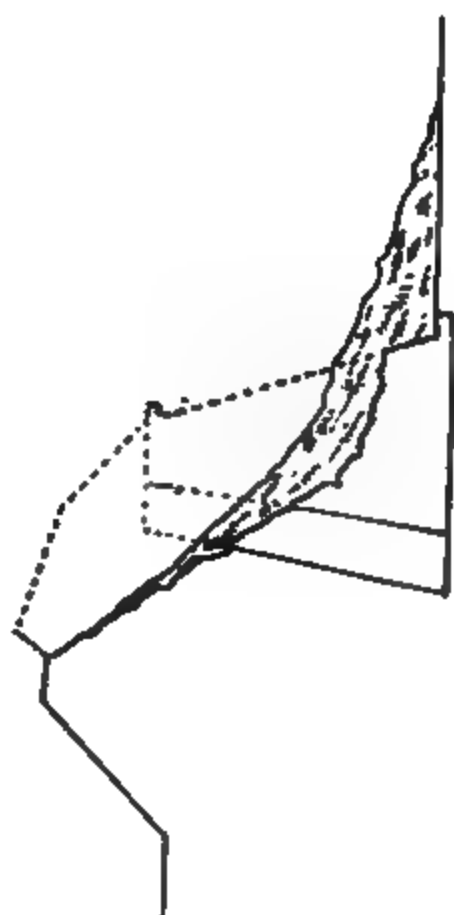


FIG. 7

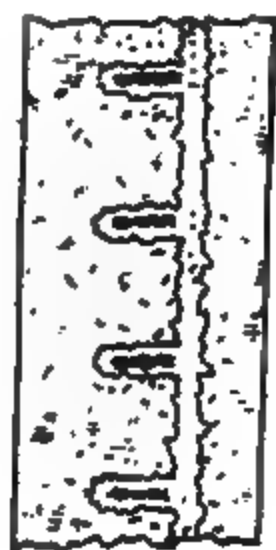
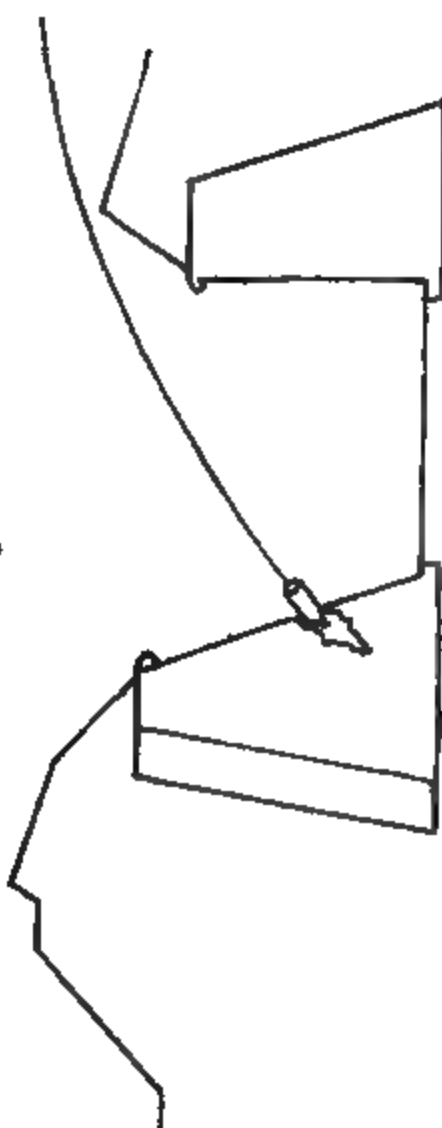


FIG. 6



BREACHING BY CURVED FIRE

FIG. 7

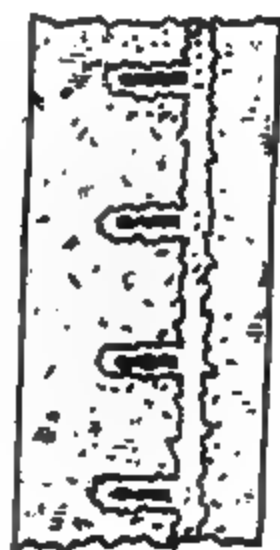


FIG. 8

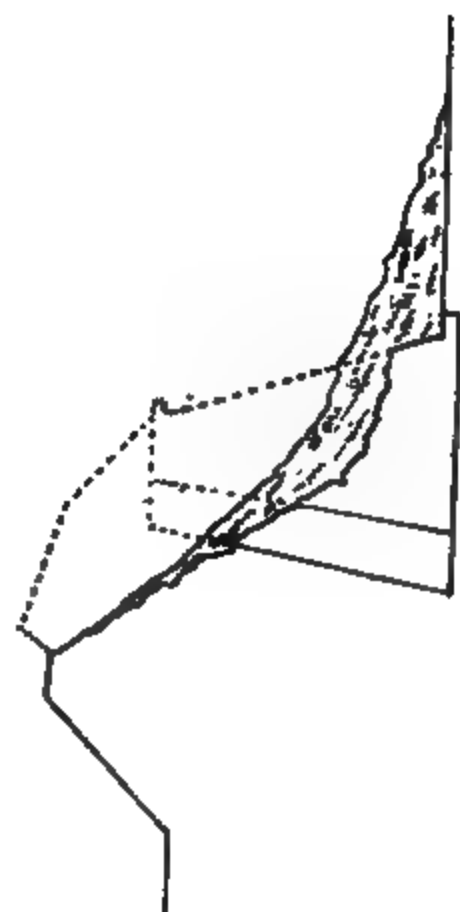
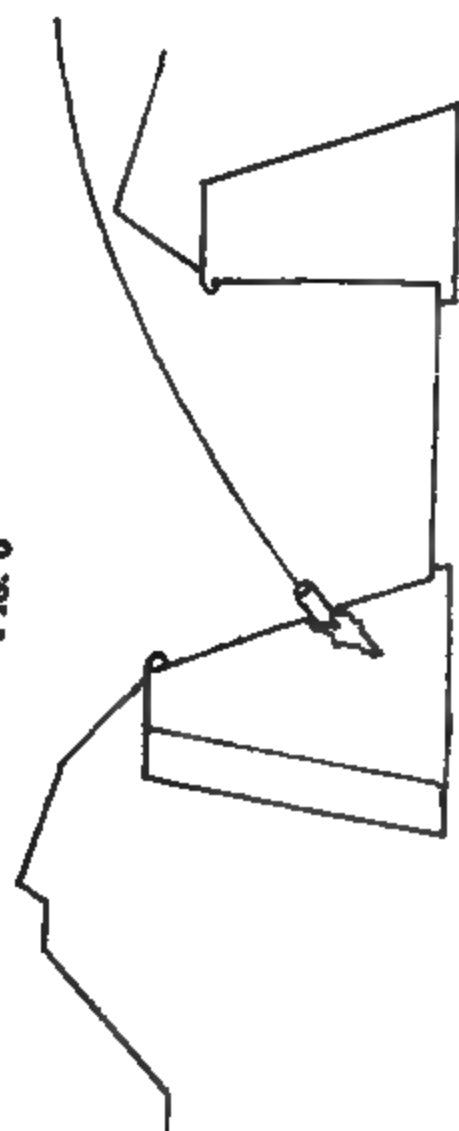


FIG. 6



BREACHING BY CURVED FIRE

11

1

2

3

4

5

6

When this cut is supposed to be effected by a series of shots, vertical cuts upwards are then made from the extremities of the horizontal one, and intermediate cuts made until the wall comes down (plate 3, figures 7 and 8); but this extreme theoretical accuracy is not obtained in practice, especially when the completion of the first horizontal cut can only be conjectured from certain phenomena, viz. :

(1st.) The concussion and explosion of a shell has a hard, sharp sound, if it hits solid masonry; on the other hand, it has a hollow and faint sound if it hits masonry either wholly or part broken through—in this latter case, the shell exploding in the earth behind the wall.

(2nd.) Fragments of stone are hurled into the air as long as the masonry resists.

(3rd.) The smoke from the explosion of the projectile soon rises above the wall, is of a bluish tinge, and forms a "ball" if the masonry remains intact. If the masonry has been broken through, the smoke appears after some delay, is of a darkish grey colour, and rises slowly, as if coming from a chimney-pot.

The determination of the range, Lunette No. 53, took a long time, as the range-party in a trench between the second (2nd) and third (3rd) parallels could see the glacis, but not the wall to be breached; and as there was no telegraphic communication, the report of each shot had to be sent by a chain of posts along the trenches to the batteries (plate 2, fig. 5).

The elevation varied on different days, on account of heavy rains and meteorological causes, when the horizontal cut was half-completed. A system of counter-mines in front of the Lunette was penetrated from the third (3rd) parallel

c



through a gallery driven by the German engineers. From the opening of this gallery in the counter-scarp the effect of fire could be accurately obtained and reported to the batteries. The horizontal cut was found far from perfect: many shells, striking above the intended line, gradually shook the whole wall; while the lower part was cut through, until great masses came down, followed by earth, so that it was not found necessary to make vertical cuts. A great number of the shells, with large bursting-charges, were finally fired into the earth of the parapet to bring it down.

The breach had a slope of 35° . It was not defended, though there was a wet ditch at its foot.

There is a very interesting description of the passage of the ditch in front of Lunette No. 52 given in the Royal Engineer Papers, by Colonel Lennox, Royal Engineers; and in the Royal Artillery Institution Papers, a translation by Captain F. C. H. Clarke, Royal Artillery, from General Von Decker's Report, containing a description of the above operations, together with the partial destruction by curved fire of the unseen sluices which retained the waters of the ditch and inundation, which added to the difficulties of the siege of Strasbourg.*

It would be interesting, if time permitted, to go into the reasons why no breach was defended in the late war by the troops of a nation celebrated for the obstinate, bloody, and often successful defence of breaches assaulted by as dogged an enemy as any known to history, namely, the British infantry.

* NOTE.—My acknowledgments are also due to the professional papers of Colonel Smyth, R. A., and Captain Parnell and Lient. Frazer, R. E.; of Col. Denfort Rocherau, Corps du Génie; as well as to German official accounts, &c., translated by the War-Office.

The change in weapons, especially the introduction of *mitrailleuses*, since the Peninsular war, was thought by many to be favorable to the defence of a breach by resolute soldiers.

SIEGE OF BELFORT.

The garrison of Belfort consisted almost entirely of Mobiles: only a very small proportion were troops of the line; among these, the 43rd regiment distinguished itself, as it did also at the subsequent siege of Paris.

To make the preliminary preparations of defence, there was only a half-battery of regular artillery and 4,500 Mobiles, without instruction or sufficient instructors,—there being only three officers of the *Corps du Génie* and two civil engineers acting as auxiliary. To these, four battalions of Mobiles, *en blouse*, badly armed and totally uninstructed, were subsequently added; and some 5000 *Franc-tireurs*, commanded by an energetic captain of artillery, held outposts.

The attacking force was supported by the army of General Von Werder, but threatened by Bourbaki. Bombardment was first attempted, with but so little success that a regular attack was commenced.

The north side was the most favorable for the operation; but, as the citadel on a hill dominated the country to that side, a second special siege of the citadel would have to be undertaken after the capture of the town and outworks.

On the south, the twin-hills of *les Perches* rose to a height about equal to the citadel-hill, and about twelve hundred metres from it: they were occupied by temporary field-works (redoubts), with a garrison of four hundred men each (plate 7, fig. 13). Before commencing the attack



on these redoubts, it was necessary to capture the villages of Daujoutin and Perouse. The former was taken by a night surprise. Two German companies passing along the railway-embankment unperceived, the French Moblots guarding this point having been left by their officers, who were passing the evening in a tavern, their men, it can easily be understood, were not over-vigilant, and took a panic, which was rapidly communicated to their comrades.

The appendix to the journal of the siege by the commandant of the place, Colonel Denfort Rocherau (a brave and reliable French officer of the *Corps du Génie*), contains a mass of mutual recriminations by the officers so disgracefully negligent, who make all sorts of accusations against the commander of the post, which are only another proof of the worthlessness and want of discipline of these irregulars. An officer of the Royal Engineers, who was present during the siege, speaks of the pitiable spectacle presented by the panic-stricken mob in the garb (but without the feelings) of soldiers.

It must be remembered that a large proportion of the German attacking-force were not regulars, but Landwehr-men; but the Prussian militia (every man of which has served three years in the regular army, or one year as a volunteer of superior education, who has passed a military examination) is a very different force from the hasty levies of the French Republic, fed for the most part on bombast, clothed in shoddy, served out, in too many instances, with brown paper shoes, and commanded by eloquent *avocats*.

The German batteries against *les Perches* redoubts were screened by the woods of Bosmont. The first parallel was opened at 1,000 yards. The first assault, which advanced on a moonlight night over a light fall of snow, was repulsed.

FIG. 13

Many Germans were taken prisoners in the ditch of the redoubt, the escarp of which they were not prepared to escalate, and could not climb. Regular approaches were then commenced, and flying sap used for the close attack (plate 7, figure 13).

When the works approached the redoubts they were abandoned by the garrison. A line of German batteries was then constructed along the ridge, about 1,000 metres from the chateau, at about the same level. The labor of bringing up the guns was enormous, as many as 100 men being required to drag each gun up the steep slope. The fire of the batteries on the ridge soon silenced that of the place. The guns on the open parapets below had suffered considerably. The Haxo casemates at the top of the citadel remained fairly serviceable, when the place capitulated. I have been told by the officer of Royal Engineers before quoted, who was with the German army, that the German commander had actually determined to abandon the siege, and that some of the investing force had actually been ordered to withdraw, when the place surrendered to a staff-officer sent to demand terms which he knew his commander was not in a position to enforce; but it is difficult for an outsider to be certain of the intentions of a general.

THIONVILLE.

The capture of Thionville may be regarded as typical of that of the minor French fortresses, similar causes producing similar results.

It is a small fortified town, of about 5,000 inhabitants, in a basin about two miles in diameter. It commands the Moselle, several roads, and two lines of railway. It is just one of those cases where geological formation gives birth to a city, necessity for its fortification, incentive to its sieges, and, finally (with a change in weapons), the means for its

capture by establishing batteries on the surrounding hills commanding the fortifications, and affording every facility for enfilading the long faces of the Vauban trace. It was, in the first instance, invested by a handful of troopers (600) and a dozen or so of the engineer corps, who multiplied themselves by using a four-horsed coach to carry them from one threatened point to another, hastily fortifying various farm-houses.* By these means (what the Yankees would call a "bogus force") they imprisoned a garrison of 1,000 regular infantry and several thousands of Garde Mobiles, who the commandant declared to be unformed and unreliable to break the investment, which was maintained until the arrival of the investing force of 12,000 men, with 75 siege-guns, only 50 of which and 30 field-guns were put in position, firing principally on the barracks and arsenals, none of which were bombproof.

They opened a steady fire at a rate of one round every quarter of an hour, day and night. The shells, with percussion-fuses, descending from the heights, and concentrated on the town, told with effect on the buildings, but with little loss of life to the besieged, viz., eight killed and 66 wounded, two only of these being civilians.

I was much surprised to hear the loss was so small, on walking through the damaged streets of the town a short time after its capture, in company with a brother-officer. We had been refused access to the parapets by the brusque Teuton sentries. This was aggravating, as we had only a few hours to spare. Happy thought!—the high steeple-tower of a central church was conveniently loopholed with shell-bursts. We made for it, but here again were refused access, in spite of a silver key. The church was undergoing repairs; the custodian turned his back for an instant to superintend the

* Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth, R. A., Royal Artillery Institution Papers.

workmen; we bolted up the stairs, and ensconced ourselves among the rafters of the belfry, from whence the shell-holes in the roof gave us a complete bird's-eye view of the fortifications and the position of every German battery. We had sold the watchful Teuton.

We were, however, startled on our perch by the tremendous vibrations of the huge bell, just above us, which warned us we had barely time to catch the train for Metz. Descending, we found ourselves, to our disgust, locked in, and the workmen gone. As a last hope, looking through the key-hole, we saw our obdurate friend locking the outer gate, and called to him. He opened the Sesame with violent abuse of our perfidy, declaring us "not true men, but spies," who would bring ruin upon him and his innocent family. He refused all *douceur*, begging us, in frightened accents, with many a look over his shoulder, to be gone and tell no one, "*pour l'amour de Dieu.*"

SEDAN.

In the old fortress of Sedan, situated in an almost exactly similar basin of hills to those around Thionville (plate 4, fig. 10), crowned by the German field-artillery, whose shells flashed upon the pavements and through the roofs of the old town at their feet, the chivalry of France laid down their arms, after gallant but fruitless efforts to break the circle of fire and steel that surrounded them.

METZ.

A court-martial has declared that the surrender of Metz and the splendid army under its walls was due to the political treachery of its chief, who basely falsified the proud boast of brave men, that "*La Garde meurt, mais ne se rend pas.*"

Without going into the details of the minor sieges, I will, if your patience permits, recapitulate what I think to be the *leading points of difference in the attack and defence, consequent upon the introduction of rifled guns and breach-loading small arms :*

1st. It is *no longer necessary, nor desirable, to carry on regular attack* until breaching-batteries are established on the escarp.

2nd. The long range of rifled guns has given a wide scope for the selection of *the sites of batteries, generally on the reverse slopes of distant hills, behind woods, &c., and in close proximity to railroads or good roads, facilitating armament and supply of ammunition.*

3rd. Breaching by curved fire, or *distant but concentrated bombardment, requires greater skill on the part of the gunners, and, consequently, higher training.*

4th. Embrasures, except in a few peculiar positions, being found to be shot-funnels for directing an enemy's fire to your own destruction, *a barbette system becomes a necessity.*

5th. *A system of range-finders, combined with accurate plans, on which the lines of fire can be laid down, as well as a system of telegraphing results of fire from a good point of observation, are also necessary.*

6th. *Complete tables of range and elevation for curved fire, with any given angle of descent deduced from the combined results of theory and practice, are a great want.*

7th. *The general introduction of rifled mortars, firing also vertical shrapnel, with a fixed charge and varying elevation.**

* NOTE.—Proposed by Captain Orde Browne, Royal Artillery.

8th. *The concentration of fire from dispersed batteries, admitting a large supplement of field artillery: the whole under the unfettered direction of an artillery chief.*

9th. *The complete investment in a very wide circle is a necessity which is practicable in the case of an inland fortress, besieged by an overwhelming force, but not in the case of a maritime fortress, unless the besiegers are masters on both land and sea.*

10th. *The cruel bombardment of a comparatively defenceless city in preference to attack, restricted to the fortifications, calls to mind the recommendation given in the book written for all time, as to the advisability of non-combatants leaving Jerusalem before the siege.*

REFERENCE.

principle of

length by
retain its
practicable
gun-pits,
the field,
renchment,
relieved
first line

terre and
strategical
of such

artillery,
stores on

which they have to depend. They should be largely supplemented by an auxiliary volunteer citizen-artillery and infantry under discipline.

4th. *The advantages of such commanding positions as Gibraltar and Quebec, especially where the sea renders complete investment difficult against a maritime power.*

5th. *The great importance of bombproof cover, expense magazines, traverses, ample means of repairing material, and extemporizing cover.*

I would now consider how the above principles apply to the ancient fortress in which we live.

As artillery is obviously the most effective element of modern defence, its application should be developed to the utmost, and fortifications made subservient to it,—defence consisting, “*not of an armed system of fortification, but of a fortified system of artillery.*”

A besieger must be kept at arm's-length, which can only be done by superior artillery, so disposed and protected as to retain its power against attack, if not indefinitely, until such time as relief is at hand. As long as “*Britannia rules the waves,*” such a period would not, I trust, be indefinitely prolonged. Inland continental fortresses differ *materially* from the maritime strongholds of Great Britain. I can recall no instance in our history, since the loss of Calais, where the old flag has been lowered at the bidding of a besieger for want of succour from the sea, our great base of operations. Especially does it hold good in the case of a maritime fortress such as Quebec, where “*Field-Marshal Frost*” prevents the possibility of a longer investment than five summer months; and even in summer, the mighty sweep of the St. Lawrence would render complete investment almost an impossibility to an invader, who could not transport very heavy guns and their enormous weight of ammunition for a long distance over difficult country, with

FIG. 14

File

few and bad roads, impassable in the spring and fall.* The defender, holding the river within the circle of forts, could throw his *whole force on a section* of the enemy divided by the St. Lawrence and separated by it from their base of operation and line of retreat. The complete railway systems at the command of Prussia did not enable her to bring heavier guns than 60-pounders in her siege-train. There are certain physical data which do not alter, viz., the strength of men and horses; the badness of country-roads; and railroads, from the numerous other calls upon them in war, have been found incapable of transporting very heavy artillery. It is hardly to be supposed that the mistress of the seas and her eldest daughter, Canada, who already ranks third among the commercial navies of the world, would permit the siege-train destined for the attack of Quebec to be conveyed by sea. The armament, therefore, of Quebec might easily be superior to that brought against it, even by hostile iron-clads, whose unarmoured decks would be exposed to the Citadel fire, which, with the addition of a few torpedoes, would secure the St. Lawrence, if those upon whom the responsibility devolves considered the subject of sufficient importance to warrant a comparatively trifling expenditure.

It is not for me to comment on the acts of legislators holding the reins of Imperial or Dominion Governments; but the past legislation of defunct governments has gone into the region of history, and may be discussed. As a mere soldier,

* NOTE.—The coming winter will be the centenary of the expedition of Generals Montgomery and Arnold against Quebec. The former, with incredible hardships, came through the State of Maine, but returned not with his life; and the latter withdrew the shattered remnant of their force. Better had it been for his honor that he had shared Montgomery's fate ere he soiled his name by treason to his self-selected allegiance. The new forts at Levis completely command the intersection of roads and railways east, west, and south, as well as the valley of the Chaudière and Kennebec road, by which the ill-fated Montgomery marched, and occupy the ground from which Wolfe shelled the town.

I was struck with amazement at what you probably did not notice, viz., the repeal, last year, with the concurrence of both the Imperial and Dominion Governments, of an Act of Confederation entitled the "Canada Defence Act," which provided for the transfer of the guaranteed loan of £1,000,000 for the defence of Montreal (the utterly defenceless commercial capital of Canada) to that political maelstrom, the Pacific Railway. At the same time, the Canadian Government declined the *free gift* of a new armament for the Quebec and Levis forts, provided for by the Canada Defence Act. The wisdom of declining to examine the dental development of an equine gift is proverbial; but the refusal of such a gift as the above was never dreamt of in my poor proverbial philosophy, nor in that of Mr. Martin Tupper, as far as I remember.

I have not yet been able to discover the epoch when Quebec ceased to be the key to navigation, by which British succour can come to Canada, or a hostile fleet of gunboats enter its inland waters, unless Reciprocity compels us to enlarge the Caughnawaga Canal, &c. In any case, unpleasant as the truth may appear to the valiant and self-reliant yeomanry of Ontario, Quebec would remain the only one possible stronghold upon which our militia, rolled up by an invading force from the west, could retreat, and wait for that help which never could be denied from the mother-land.*

* NOTE.—Successful initiative in war is everything. Both nations are forbidden by treaty to build gunboats on the lakes; but gunboats can and have, with the first note of war, passed up the St. Lawrence by the Lachine Canal, and on to the lakes. The Beauharnois Canal, on the South Shore (that monument to dead patriotism), would be rendered useless at the commencement of hostilities by the United States. But the necessities of commerce, with us stronger than any consideration of national defence, point to the probable enlargement of the old Canal on the North Shore, from the Cedar Rapids to Coteau Landing. The defenceless emporiums of commerce on the lakes would then be at the mercy of those who held Quebec.

Halifax is an open harbour, and useful as a coaling-station for the West-Indian fleet; but the treaty which handed over our compatriots of the State of Maine sends a wedge of territory up to within a few miles of the Intercolonial Railroad, which a handful of troopers could at any moment render unserviceable in a night, cutting off retreat to Halifax or succour from thence to the upper Provinces. 'Tis true that small detachments were sent from Halifax during the *Trent* difficulty, but the United States had "other fish to fry."

Assuming, then, a certain sum of money to be granted by the State for purposes of defence,—and *a very large sum, in the shape of rents of Imperial property, has been granted, though not, I believe, applied to that purpose*,—the maximum reasonable proportion of it should, I think, be appropriated to the application of protected artillery in the five important strategical points, viz., St. John, N.B., Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Esquimalt (the proposed terminus of the Pacific Railway in British Columbia).*

I am not singular in supposing that detached gun-pits on Major Moncrieff's system are the best means of meeting modern attack on an effective and sufficiently economical principle. With great admiration for the sister-service of the Royal Engineers, I cannot divest myself of the idea that they inherit not only the talent but the fancy for building in *Louis d'ors*, attributed to the French engineers by Louis Quatorze.

* NOTE.—For Ontario, trusting in the loyal strength of her militia, to be indifferent to the defence of Lower Canada, and especially of Montreal, resembles a warrior with a good helmet being indifferent about a cuirass for his stomach as long as his head was protected; or the much-maligned ostrich, who, on the approach of an enemy, stuck his beak in the sand and left his posterior exposed, believing it invisible. As for Montreal, it is said that modern Danæ is only too eager to embrace the trans-Atlantic bird of Jove, believing, as of old, that he will come in a shower of gold, which, however, may take the disagreeable form of *inflation*.

Laying aside costly iron shields, granite structures, and the ingenious devices for doing away with the destructive effects of recoil, Moncrieff simply trusts to the broad bosom of mother-earth, digs a hole for his gun, and chains the destructive giant of recoil an obedient slave to his gun-wheels.

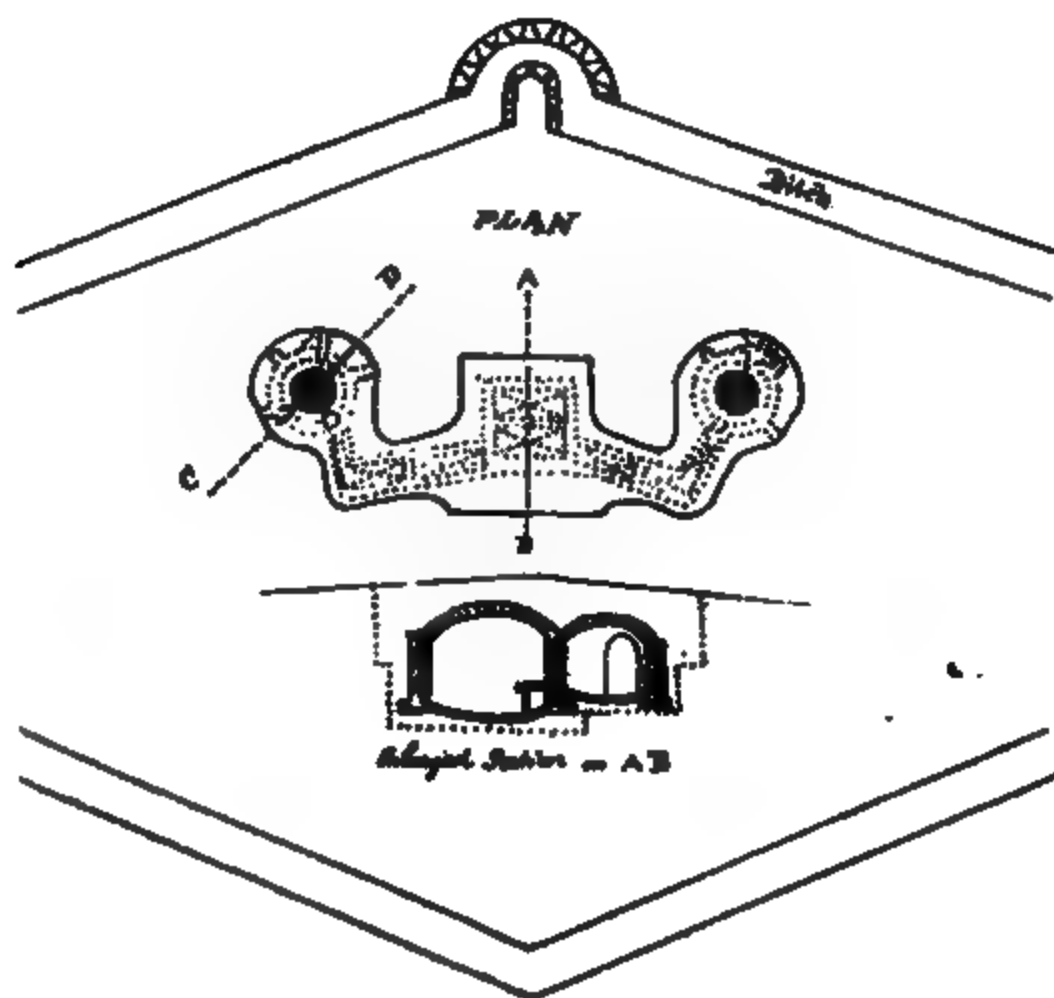
Time does not permit me to explain the system. I trust plate 6, fig 12, and the models, will render it intelligible to those who are not already familiar with it. As to its advantages, they are self-evident,—protection from direct fire while it gives an all-round fire, thus enormously increasing the value of a single gun, and its inexpensiveness, compared to the bastioned or polygonal trace, with ravelins, caponiers, &c.

Its only vulnerable point is liability to vertical fire ; but you who are riflemen may judge for yourselves of the comparative value of such an objection by considering the difference between hitting a visible upright target and dropping a shot upon the same target when laid flat on the ground. Besides, we must remember the saying of the first Napoleon : “ *On ne peut faire d'omelettes sans casser des œufs.* ” From no system of fortification can we expect entire immunity from danger in war. The actual expenses of the pits would be comparatively little. The principal outlay lies in the Moncrieff gun-carriage ; but as (by the Act so lately repealed) the British Government offered to arm the forts the Dominion Government would build, I thought the keen commercial intellect of Canada might have realized and adhered to the wise arrangement which left the principal burden on the richer mother-country.

It is not, however, to be supposed, in speaking of detached works in such positions as recommended by Colonel Jervois, Royal Engineers (as shewn in plate 8, fig. 14), with the view of keeping an enemy at a distance, that all the comparatively old fortifications are useless, from some inherent vice of construction ; quite the contrary. The fall of the French

MONCRIEF SYSTEM OF MOUNTING HEAVY ORDNANCE

FIG. 12



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fortresses is attributable to many causes which may seem far-fetched to you,—for instance, the geological formation of the Paris basin, which repeats itself at Sedan, Thionville, and elsewhere. These valleys caused confluence of rivers, as before remarked, the convergence of roads, and the growth of towns, to be in the future fortified by Vauban. The diameter of these basins was so large as to render the surrounding hills unavailable for the old artillery attack; not so for modern guns, whose fire commanded and could converge upon the helpless town.

No such reasoning can be applied to the fortifications of Quebec, which, however, painfully remind me, in their dilapidation, their obsolete armament, and their scanty artillery garrison, of the state of some of the French fortresses at the commencement of the late war, when it was too late, as regards preparation, to obviate the apathy of peace, strangely co-existent with the delusive cry, "*à Berlin!*"

For the comparatively small sum of about \$40,000 (£8,000) an effective armament of rifled guns, as heavy as any that were brought against Paris, could be supplied to Quebec by selling some of the obsolete ones, getting the converted 44 Bore rifled gun for which the old carriages and stores would necessitate the

the armaments at Kingston, intended out in official Reports; present in Quebec, as there existing a 7-inch M. L. R. 1 from the Citadel command, knock a hole through the referable to burst the shell of Artillery, my visits have Quebec. I must, therefore, taken too local a coloring. fact that the unprecedented ant character of its people e Report of Colonel Jervois,

purchase of new carriages and other material, which would cost probably ten-times the above sum. The Government of India and that of Melbourne in Australia have purchased an armament of converted Palliser guns at comparatively small cost, such as I recommended two years ago for Quebec. I see they have been largely used at the miserable siege of Carthagená, in Spain, from which, however, we can learn little but the miseries entailed by the weak government of the clamorous many.

In its present unarmed state, a roving *Alabama* might run into such a position at Quebec as would enable her, under threat of bombardment, to demand from his honor the Mayor and gentlemen of the Corporation a sum that would far exceed anything they are likely to realize by the transfer of the late Imperial ordnance property from the purpose for which it was given. It is not desirable that I should point out our vulnerable points; suffice it to say that the lower lines, regarded by many as picturesque ruins, are of more importance than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

PAPER II.—EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

BY JOHN LANGTON, M. A., OTTAWA.

(Read before the Society, March 4th, 1874.)

IN taking a brief retrospect of the early discoveries in America, we may pass over those of Biarne and other followers of Eric the Red, from Iceland; for though they undoubtedly made several visits to it as early as the latter end of the 10th century, and even made some attempts at settlement, these had no influence upon the subsequent history of the continent. There are also some rather apocryphal accounts of voyages from Ireland and elsewhere; but the real history of American discovery commences with Columbus, in 1492. From that time, however, the leading maritime nations of Europe vied with each other in prosecuting discoveries in the new world. Even before the Spaniards had set foot on the continent itself, the English, under Cabot, had been on the coast of Labrador: the Portuguese, under Cortereal, and the French, under Verazzani, soon followed; and there is no doubt that from the very beginning of the 16th century, the Norman, Breton and Basque fishermen were in the habit of frequenting the Banks of Newfoundland and the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England.

The first important attempt of the French to make a settlement was that conducted by Jacques Cartier. In his first voyage, in 1534, he explored the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. In the second, in 1535, he ascended the river as far as Montreal; and of his adventures and his dealings with the natives we have a detailed and interesting account. The third, in 1541, under the auspices of the Sieur de Roberval, was a real attempt at a settlement. A considerable number both of men and women were brought out, and they remained two winters at Quebec and the Isle

of Orleans. But the colonists were badly chosen, being, in fact, to a great extent, the refuse of the gaols, and the projected settlement proved a total failure. The fourth and last voyage, in 1543, was merely undertaken to bring back the remains of this miserable colony.

The next great attempts at colonization made by French were in a different direction. Successive expeditions were fitted out for the coast of Florida, under Ribau, 1562, and under Laudonnière in 1564, and Gourgue, 1567. In one of them no less than 600 settlers were taken out; but they all miserably failed, either from dissension amongst the colonists themselves or from the hostility of the Spaniards.

Ever since Cartier's time a connection had been kept up by the French with the St. Lawrence, and trading voyages had been made to Tadousac, which was, and long continued to be, the head-quarters of the trade. The Indians assembled there from the adjoining parts, and even from as far in the interior as Lake Huron, carrying across the head-waters of the Ottawa to those of the Saguenay. As late as 1670, Charlevoix says that there were rarely more than 1,200 Indians encamped about Tadousac during the trading season. In later times Montreal and Three Rivers vied with it as the emporiums of trade; but in the early days the French never went higher up the St. Lawrence than Tadousac. There were even some attempts to establish a permanent post there, but none were successful.

In 1603 the real founder of Canada first appeared on the scene. The Commandeur de Chaste, having received royal commission to that effect, sent out an expedition to establish a permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence, and it was one of his captains on a preliminary voyage who first reached Montreal for the first time since the days of Cartier, and even advanced across the Lachine rapids

general survey of the country beyond ; but on their return, finding De Chaste dead, the idea of a settlement was for the time abandoned.

The next year Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, took up De Chaste's commission, and organized an expedition to the Atlantic coast, in which Champlain, Potrin-court, and Pontgravé (prominent names in discoveries of that time) had commands. We have a very interesting and detailed account of this expedition by Champlain himself, and another by Lescarbot, an adventurous lawyer who accompanied it. They spent three years on the coast, exploring it from Cape Cod to Gaspé, wintering first at Ste. Croix, in the estuary of the Passamaquoddy, and then at Port Royal, near where Annapolis now stands. But nothing came of these explorations at the time. Potrin-court, indeed, returned to Port Royal in 1610, and established a settlement there, under the patronage of Madame de Quercheville, Duchesse de la Rochefoucault de Laincourt, and in charge of a mission of Jesuits ; but in 1613 the colony, which had never gained any strength, was broken up by the English.

Up to this time all the French attempts at settlement had been very unfortunate ; but in the meantime De Monts had changed his plan, and in 1608 he sent out another expedition to the St. Lawrence, under Champlain as his lieutenant, who laid the foundation of Quebec, and spent the winter there. This is the real commencement of the History of La Nouvelle France.

From the very first, Champlain entered upon a course of policy the evil effects of which continued for more than a century to be felt by the colony which he had founded. In order to gain influence with the Indians whom he encountered, he joined them in their wars against their native enemies. But the Indian tribes with whom he associated himself were scattered and unwarlike, whilst their opponents were not only united under some semblance

of a regular government, but proved themselves afterwards to be the most enterprising and warlike of all the native tribes of North America. These unprovoked aggressions created an undying hostility to the French on the part of the Iroquois, which troubled all the earlier years of the colony, and was never effaced so long as they retained any hold upon the continent. The Dutch, on the contrary, and after them the English, entered into amicable relations with the Iroquois, or the Five Nations, as they designated them; and in their wars with the French these Indians always proved trustworthy and faithful allies. From their own traditions we learn that in the earlier times they had been unable to cope successfully with their antagonists, and had been obliged to confine themselves to their settlements in the northern parts of the present State of New York; but their better organization and the fire-arms which they obtained from their Dutch and English allies enabled them to take the ascendancy, and a dreadful retribution awaited the French and their allies.

In 1609, the first year after the foundation of Quebec, Champlain joined in one of these expeditions, in which he penetrated to the head of the lake which still bears his name, and there inflicted a defeat upon the Iroquois; and in 1610 he again met them about the mouth of the Richelieu river. In these early years Champlain himself used generally to return to France for the winter, leaving a party behind him at Quebec; and some of his men were usually left with his Indian friends to spend the winter with them, for the purpose of learning their language and habits, and of gaining some insight into the character of the country. Thus, from the very commencement, that class of semi-savage hunters and traders was established, who acted as interpreters and played such an important part in the early history of the colony; and who in after times, under the name of *coureurs de bois*, seem to have given the Governors almost as much trouble as the Indians themselves.

One of these, Nicholas de Vignau by name, had wintered with the Algonquins in the upper waters of the Ottawa, and, meeting with Champlain in France in 1612, told him that he had penetrated by that route as far as Hudson's Bay, which had just been discovered by the English, and had witnessed the wreck of an English vessel there, and the capture of its crew by the Indians. Champlain himself spent the whole of that year in France, engaged in procuring an influential protector for his infant colony, in consequence of the death of the Count de Soissons, who had hitherto patronized it. The Prince of Condé having obtained a commission as Lieut.-General of New France, Champlain, in 1613, fitted out a new expedition, and immediately on his arrival proceeded to ascend the Ottawa, with the expectation of reaching the Northern Sea. In his account of this expedition he gives a clear description of the Chaudière and Rideau Falls, and of the site of the present capital of the country he founded ; but we must look upon De Vignau as the first white man who had ever set foot upon it. Champlain only went up the river as far as Allumette Island, where the Indians convinced him that De Vignau had deceived him, and that there was no means of reaching Hudson's Bay by that route ; so he returned once more to France, disappointed, and has handed De Vignau down to posterity as the greatest liar he ever met with.

Another year was now spent in France, getting up a company of merchants at St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, to raise the means for a new expedition ; for, though Condé gave his patronage, he was very chary of his money. A matter of equal importance for the colony also engaged Champlain's attention. He entered into negotiations with the Recollets, a branch of the Franciscan order, to undertake the spiritual charge of his young settlement. In 1615 he brought out with him four of the friars, and built the first chapel on the site of what is now Champlain market, whilst the Franciscans established their convent where the Marine

Hospital now stands. Immediately upon his arrival he engaged in another expedition against the Iroquois, which led to the most important of his discoveries in the interior of the country. Accompanied by a dozen Frenchmen and one of his new missionaries, Father le Caron, he ascended the Ottawa to the Matawan. Hence carrying across to Nipissing, they descended the French river to Lake Huron, and coasted along to the country of the Hurons, near Lake Simcoe. Here they collected their forces at a village called Cahiagué, and thence crossed Lake Simcoe, and carried across to that chain of lakes which empties itself by the river Trent into the Bay of Quinté. Crossing the foot of Lake Ontario they landed, and, proceeding through the woods, they crossed the Oswego river where it comes out of Lake Oneida, and attacked their enemy in a fort somewhere near Lake Onondaga. The expedition was a failure, and they returned by the way they came; and Champlain, who had been wounded in the encounter, being unable to induce the Indians to send a canoe with him down the St. Lawrence, returned with his allies to their own country. During the winter he visited some other tribes, and learned a great deal about the interior, from description, all of which is laid down in the map which he published.

This was the most important of all Champlain's expeditions, both from its extent and from the relations which it established between the French and the Indians of the interior; and to me it has always been doubly interesting, as the course which he took was through a part of the country where, a little more than two hundred years later, I was one of the first European settlers. From the peculiar route by which they approached it, they took Upper Canada, as it were, in the rear; and thus the first part on which a white man ever trod did not receive any permanent settlers until forty or fifty years ago. Considering the importance of this expedition, it is amazing to see the way in which all mention of it is omitted, and the erroneous

accounts given where it is alluded to by any of our historians. Some years ago, at Quebec, in a paper communicated to the "TRANSACTIONS" of your Society, I had occasion to argue against the German School of Historical Critics, who would throw a doubt upon the reality of the events related in ancient history, from the inconsistencies in the various narratives of them; and I brought forward as an instance to the contrary this incident in our own history, for which we have the best of all evidence—that of the published words of the chief actor himself. Champlain's account is clear and intelligible, as almost all his local descriptions are; and if that is not enough, we have his map with his course laid down upon it: yet, with the book before them, hardly two can relate the story in the same way. The earliest of our historians, Lescarbot, Sagard, Du Creux, La Potterie, and Colden, omit mention of it altogether; and Charlevoix disposes of it in a few brief sentences, which give no clue to the route or destination of the expedition. We have in our records an official document signed by Louis XIV. himself, and by his great minister, Colbert, in which Champlain's discoveries are set forth as proving the title of France to its possessions in North America; and it would be difficult for the most ingenious person, in as few words, to string together so many misstatements. The words are these: "En l'année 1611 et 1612 il monta par la grande rivière jusqu'au lac Huron, qu'on appelle la Mer Douce; de là il fut à la nation du Petun, puis à la nation Neutre, et à celle des Mascontins, qui demeuraient alors vers l'endroit qu'on appelle Sakiman. De cet endroit il alla vers les sauvages Algonquins et Murons en guerre contre les Iroquois. Il passa par des lieux qu'il a décrits lui-même dans son livre, qui ne sont autres que le Détroit et le lac Erié." Now, as to the date assigned: in 1611 he was only about six weeks in Canada, and never advanced beyond Montreal; and in 1612 he never even left the shores of France. Setting aside this error in the date, he certainly was amongst the Petuns,

though after, and not before, his expedition ; but of the Neuters and Mascoutins he expressly says that he was unable to visit them. As to his then going towards the Algonquins and Hurons to attack the Iroquois, we may give the author of the memoir the benefit of the supposition that "*vers*" was written by mistake for "*avec*," which would make better sense ; but he certainly never was near Detroit, and of Lake Erie he knew so little that he never mentions the name, and it is only represented by an imaginary river on his map. The chief modern authority is Garneau, who, besides several minor errors throughout, mistakes Champlain's Mer Douce (which was Lake Huron) for Lake Ontario. He winds up by saying that Champlain spent the winter south of Lake Ontario, amongst the Neuters, whilst we know that he really spent it in the neighbourhood of Lake Simcoe, amongst the Hurons and Petuns. Moreover, the Neuters did not live south of Lake Ontario, but in the western peninsula of what is now Upper Canada, all except one outlying village at Niagara Falls ; and we have Champlain's express word for it that he never visited it at all. I have seen one school-history which makes Champlain collect his allies on Green Bay, in Lake Michigan, and attack the Iroquois Fort somewhere on the Georgian Bay—a singular locality in which to find an Iroquois Fort in 1615 ; and a more pretentious one makes Cahiagué at the foot of Lake Huron, and the enemy's fort at Detroit. But the most remarkable jumble is to be found in Murray's British North America ; and it is all the more singular because he evidently had Champlain open before him, and gives the mustering of the allies and the attack on the fort in great detail. He is all right as far as the country of the Hurons, whence, he says, they descended, a small chain of lakes (which you will look for in vain on the map) to Lake Huron, and coasted along to its extremity, where they landed, and went—a four-days' journey, one must remember—to Lake George, where Champlain really did attack the Iroquois six years before.

Such are the various accounts given of this expedition by historians who notice it at all ; and of all the histories I have seen (and I have looked into most of them), I have found only three which give anything like a true description of it—Broadhead's History of New York, the late Abbé Ferland's admirable course of lectures on Canadian History, and Dr. Miles' History, published within the last year or two. If this is a fair sample of the way in which history is written, we may well doubt if we have a true statement of details where the original authorities have not come down to us, though it would be pushing scepticism too far to reject on that account the reality of the main events themselves.

This was the last expedition undertaken by Champlain himself, who for the rest of his life devoted himself to superintending the affairs of his colony at Quebec, with occasional visits to France. The Recollets, however, pursued their missionary labours amongst the distant tribes, assisted some years later in their pious work by the Jesuits, whom they had called in to their aid ; and here again we find a systematic garbling of history, which may be taken as an example of what has probably occurred in other periods where we have had no opportunity of examining the original authorities.

In 1615 Champlain brought out with him, as I have before stated, four Recollet friars, one of whom accompanied him in his expedition into the interior, and founded a mission amongst the Hurons. A few years later the Recollets called in some Jesuits to their assistance, and the new-comers lived harmoniously with them as guests in the Recollet convent. Sagard says their friends warned them that they were introducing dangerous inmates, who would supplant them ; but he says he cannot believe such a thing of the reverend Fathers. But the whole Canadian colony was soon after broken up by the English, and on the return of the French the Jesuits alone had control of the ecclesiastical affairs of the country. From that time all mention of the Reco!lets,

who were the real pioneers of Christianity in Canada, ~~is~~ systematically suppressed; and in Du Creux's history and the Relations des Jésuites, it would take a very microscopic examination to detect that the Jesuits ever had any predecessors in Canada. To such an extent is this carried, that although in Champlain's original journal a detailed account is given of his negotiations for bringing them out and of their first proceedings, in the collected edition of his voyages, published in 1632 (which is the one most generally known, and the only one which has been translated into other languages), all allusion to them is suppressed. If Champlain said, in 1619, that Father le Caron addressed the Indians on the new faith which he was introducing to them, in 1632 he is made to say that he addressed them himself. If le Caron's name is casually mentioned in the first edition, in the second the sentence is altered or omitted, and that so carelessly that in one case the omission has hopelessly confused the dates.

This may not appear a point of great importance; but in the early records of Canada the missions occupy such a prominent position that no history of the country can be considered complete which does not give to them their due weight. At the period of which I am speaking, it was through them mainly that any addition was made to the information already collected by Champlain. The *coureurs de bois*, also, as was their custom, associated themselves with the Indians, and penetrated into the back country in every direction. From these united sources some further knowledge of the interior was obtained, which we find recorded in Champlain's map of 1632; but there is not much there which was not discovered, or described by him, in 1615. For fifty years—indeed, from that time—no great accession seems to have been gained to their knowledge of the country; and even as late as 1663 we find the Governor of that day saying that Lake Superior is supposed to empty itself in the direction of New Spain.

No events of importance are recorded for several years ; but we gather that the colony advanced very slowly, and some years afterwards only numbered about fifty individuals. Louis Hébert was the first man who, in 1617, brought out his family ; and the first marriage took place the next year, a daughter of Hébert's being the bride.

The ecclesiastical registers are preserved almost from the first—not the originals, indeed, which were burned in 1640, but a copy made out at the time, from the records of different families ; and in them we find the ancestors of the LeMoines, Bouchers, Gagnons, Cauchons, and other well-known Canadian names. Eighty years afterwards, Leclercq says that 900 people counted their descent from Louis Hébert. The first baptism recorded in the register is that of a son of Abraham Martin, a Scotchman, and a well-known pilot of his day, and who has left his name to posterity in connection with his farm on the plains of Abraham.

In 1629 Quebec was taken by the English ; and when it was restored in 1632, Hébert's family at Quebec and two or three settlers who had remained at Three Rivers, with a few *coureurs de bois* amongst the Indians, were the only remnants of the original colony. A new company of the Cent Associés, under the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu, was formed ; and Champlain, collecting his scattered companions, returned to his Government, and died there, 1635.

The new colony had hardly acquired any consistency before the Iroquois wars commenced. The friendly tribes were attacked and massacred, the missions broken up, and all trade was interrupted. The posts at Montreal and Three Rivers were attacked, as were the settlements in the Isle of Orleans ; and the Iroquois even made incursions as low down the river as Tadousac. Succour came very sparingly from France ; and somewhat later, even Quebec itself was beleaguered by a force of 700 Indians. During this period of distress overtures were made to the New-England colonies,

with which the French were for the time on friendly terms, to undertake a joint war to put down the Iroquois. This the authorities of the colony declined to do, as they had no immediate cause for hostilities; but private individuals, it appears, were not so scrupulous. It is curious to see how history often repeats itself, and how small a difference a couple of centuries make in the national character. Many, no doubt, remember how, during the Crimean war, when the siege of Sebastopol hung rather heavy on hand, the American newspapers were full of hits at the incompetence of the effete nations of Europe; and some even proposed that a company should be got up to take Sebastopol for us on contract. Now, it appears that about this time a certain Major Québin, who is called the Major of Boston, made a proposal that for the sum of £20,000 he would undertake the total destruction of the Iroquois. We learn this from a despatch of D'Avaugour, who was Governor of Canada a few years later, and who suggests that it might be well to enquire whether the Major was still in the same mind, even at a much greater price.

I had some curiosity to ascertain who this Major *Québin* might be, who seemed a worthy progenitor of those who in our own time offered to take the capture of Sebastopol off our hands, and after some search in the Massachusetts records I have identified him. There was a certain Major Edward Gibbon, who is frequently mentioned in the records as a delegate to the General Court, and often entrusted with important negotiations. He evidently was a prominent man of war amongst them, and was more than once chosen as Major-General in various expeditions against the Indians. The title given to him in the despatch, of the *Major of Boston*, seems an odd one; but he appears to have acted as a sort of Chief of Police there, with the title of Sergeant-Major of the town, which would account for the designation. But what appears most clearly to identify him with the Major Québin of the French despatches, is, that in 1653, when

war was imminent with the French, and there was a prohibition against any one trading with them, a special exemption was made in favour of Major Gibbon, on account of the importance of the transactions which he had with them.

But better times were approaching. During all the previous history of Canada some great man about the Court had been selected as the patron of the new colony, and a company of merchants and others had been established, who had the trade, and to a great extent the Government, in their hands. The King, indeed, was the nominal Lord; but the company were the proprietors, and their interest in the colony was principally to make money, the well-being of the settlers being a secondary consideration. Latterly, indeed, the exclusive privileges of trade had been relaxed, and the Crown had interfered more in the management; but in 1663 there was an entire change in this respect. The Company of the Cent Associés surrendered all their rights and were abolished, and Canada was annexed as part of the Crown Domain.

After this cession of the colony by the Company to the Crown, a period of comparative prosperity followed. The Indian troubles, indeed, still continued at intervals, but there was more vigour in the Administration and better concerted means of defence. Some standing force of regular troops was kept up in the country, and forts were erected at important points. Those at Sorel and Chambly restrained the incursions of the Iroquois, who usually followed the Richelieu river in their expeditions; and that at Kingston, which bore the name of the new Governor Frontenac, was the first step towards curbing their power and affording security to the trade on Ontario. Others soon followed at Niagara, Detroit, and on Lake Huron; and at a great gathering of the western tribes at Makinaw, Perrot succeeded in establishing the French influence on a permanent basis.

During the same period the tide of discovery rolled rapidly westward. Trading-posts were established on Lake Superior, and pushed on towards the northwest. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette ascended the Outagami from Green Bay on Michigan, and, carrying across to the Wisconsin river, followed it down to the Mississippi, which they descended as far as the confluence of the Arkansas ; when, being satisfied that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, they returned by way of the Illinois river to the extremity of Lake Michigan. In 1679 La Salle pursued the latter course with larger means, and the Mississippi was followed to its mouth. The foundation was thus laid for that chain of forts, from Quebec to New Orleans, which surrounded the English possessions, and at one time seemed likely to make the French the predominating influence on this continent.

From the time of Champlain till the assumption of the Government by the Crown, we have mainly to rely for information upon the ecclesiastical records. They are, naturally, principally directed to their own special subject ; but in the reports from the several missions, and in the journals kept by the Jesuits and Ursulines, we may glean many interesting facts as to the general progress of the colony, as to the Indian troubles, as to the social condition of the scattered settlements, and as to the early history of many of the old families, whose descendants we still find amongst us. But from the time when Canada came more immediately under the dominion of the Crown, we have a very perfect series of official documents, consisting of the despatches to and from the Governors and Intendants, edicts and ordinances, censuses and reports upon various subjects. Besides such as are preserved in Canada, we have copies of those in the French archives, some in the Parliamentary library, and the most interesting series in that of our own Society. From the minute details in which the French Government used to interfere, these give a very

lively and interesting picture of the state of society in the country. In the earlier documents protection against the Iroquois is the principal topic, and there are some amusing instances of that ignorance of the country with which we are occasionally still inclined to charge our own Colonial Office. A certain *Sieur de Gaudais* appears to have been sent out in 1663 to report upon the state of the country; and he is instructed, among other things, to enquire whether, as the thick forests enable the Indians to steal unperceived on the settlements, it would not be possible, by setting fire to the woods in winter, when a strong wind is blowing, so to clear the country as to make it at once available for settlement and safe from the stealthy foe. Some similar suggestion seems to have been made to the Governor, *D'Avaugour*, for he replies that the proposal to fence in the country by a line of palisades impenetrable to the Iroquois appears to him impossible.

A much more practicable measure was strongly insisted upon in successive despatches, viz., the gathering of the people together into villages—it being kindly left to the Governor to decide whether they are to be laid out of a round or a square shape—and the discouragement of scattered settlements. For this purpose the grants of all lands beyond

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off on hunting and trading expeditions, which from the first was so characteristic of the French in America. In 1673 there is an ordinance setting forth the injury to the colony arising from this cause, and forbidding any Frenchman, whether domiciled or not, from wandering in the woods for more than 24 hours without express permission of the Governor, on pain of death. In 1676 the prohibition to trade at a distance is repeated, with a reduced penalty for first offences; but the Governor himself is restricted from granting any such permission as was previously allowed. And two years later there is another ordinance setting forth how the former one against trading has been eluded, under the pretence of excursions for the purpose of hunting. The Governors are, therefore, forbidden to grant any permission to hunt at a greater distance from the settlement than one league. The next year there is a little relaxation of the former enactment, by the permission to the Governors to grant licenses to hunt at a greater distance from the settlements between the 15th of January and the 15th of April; but this is the greatest latitude which appears to have been allowed. As to trading expeditions, they continued to be strictly forbidden, and the punishment—by an ordinance of 1681—is to be whipped and branded for the first offence, and the galleys for life for a second. How utterly powerless the Government was, in spite of the severity of these enactments, to prevent the wandering habits of the settlers, is shewn by the constant complaints upon the subject in subsequent despatches, and by a whole series of ordinances in after years, granting amnesties to those who will come in before a certain date, with renewed threats of punishment to those who do not return.

The growth of the colony being the first object of Government, emigration was to be encouraged, and at the same time the natural increase of the population was to be fostered. For this purpose there is an arrêt of the Council of State in 1670, making a grant, to be called the King's

Present, of 20 livres to every couple that is married, if the man (or rather boy) is under 20 and the girl under 16 ; and parents are to be subject to a fine who do not marry off their children before those ages. There is also to be an annual pension of 300 livres to every person who has a family of 10 living children, and of 400 if he has 12 or more ; and there are to be certain honours and trusts to the principal inhabitants of the parishes and villages, with precedence in the churches and elsewhere ; and for these honourable situations the men with the largest families are to be preferred. As the natural supply of wives was deficient (for the census of 1667 shews that there were only 55 unmarried girls above 14), cargoes of the article were sent out ; and it may be interesting to preserve the record that a certain Mademoiselle Ettienne appears to have been the Miss Rye of that day. In 1670 the Intendant Talon reports that out of 165 sent out the year before only 15 remained on hand, and they were engaged, but distributed amongst the other families until their destined husbands could support them. He asks for 150 to 200 more, but strongly recommends that those sent out shall not be naturally deformed, or have anything exteriorly repulsive in their personal appearance ; from which I conclude that the last batch was not exactly a fair sample of *la belle France*. Perhaps it was partly for this reason that it was found necessary to use stringent measures to get the *coureurs de bois* to marry ; for Talon, in a mémoire of that date, proposes that all bachelors shall be excluded from trade, and from the honours of the church and the communauté, who do not marry within 15 days after the ships come in ; and he asks for authority to take stronger measures still with them. He also suggests that a few girls of good birth, and distinguished for their accomplishments, shall be sent out for the benefit of the young officers, whom it is desirable to induce to settle in the country. We do not hear what the total number of the second importation was, but it would appear that the market had been somewhat

overstocked ; for, in 1671 Talon asks that no be sent out the next year, lest the settlers should find husbands for their daughters ; and whilst he had asked for 4 or 5 for the office him 15, whom he did not find it easy to get was after all only a temporary glut, for Frontenac asks for more women. This, on account I have found of an importation of women later period the women were considerably more than men. Even the officers seem to have been finding wives ; for a subsequent Governor Dénonville, after enumerating the captains married off, appears to be not a little concerned of the younger officers, whom he finds it difficult from forming connections which may be so palatable to their relations at home.

As far as the increase of the population experiment seems to have been successful ; the first batch arrived Talon reports 700 that the bishop anticipated a crop of 1,100 which is pretty well, considering that four years before, in 1668, the whole population only numbered 1,000. He is, however, afraid, that the bishop reckoned sanguinely, for in 1674 the census only gave 7,832, which naturally a good deal disappointed the authorities at home ; and in 1680 there were only 10,000 all—404 births and 66 marriages.

The fact of the despatches of this period of such domestic matters is in itself indicative of comparative tranquillity and prosperity which soon after the Indian troubles recommenced out with the English colonies. Canada, having grown out of its infancy : the principal cities firmly established, and all the machinery was thoroughly organized ; and as I only

some account of the early French settlements, I may omit all mention of the later incidents in the history of the colony; of the fluctuating periods of prosperity and of suffering; and of the events which, from the neglect of the Home Government and the growing power of the English colonies, finally led to its conquest.

Two reflections must suggest themselves to any one who carefully studies these early annals of our country. There are few such opportunities of tracing from contemporary authorities the extraordinary mutability to which uncivilized tribes are subject. When Cartier entered the St. Lawrence he found permanent villages at Quebec and Montreal; but 60 years later, in Champlain's time, there were only a few scattered Montagnais about Quebec, and no Indian villages within many leagues of Montreal. Who the Indians were that Cartier met with it is not easy to determine; but there can be no doubt, from the fragments of their language preserved by him, as well as from their habits of life, living in walled villages, that they belonged to some branch of the great Iroquois stock. The traditions of the Indians themselves, as handed down to us by subsequent writers, leave the point doubtful. The Algonquins said that they had been driven from Montreal by the Hurons. The , their special to have been One thing, some clearly of the Indian territory they That section says, though asts of New vrence. We Lawrence, on Ottawa, and

on the Ottawa itself, but not lower than Allumette Island, on Lake Nippising, and the Manitoulin Islands. They lived a wandering life, as hunters, rarely settling in permanent villages, and those not fortified. The other section cultivated the ground extensively, and lived in walled villages. The Five Nations, whose French name of Iroquois may be extended to the whole stock, occupied the northern parts of the State of New York, from the head of Lake Champlain to Niagara. Beyond them were the Eries, and north of the Lakes the Neuters, in the western peninsula; the Petuns on the north shore, from Collingwood to Owen Sound, and the Hurons on the small tract between Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron. These all belonged to one stock, though often deadly enemies. But the intervening country, embracing all the Upper St. Lawrence and the most fertile tracts of what is now Upper Canada, was a desert—a neutral ground, in which neither of the hostile races made any settlement. Champlain describes the chain of Lakes by which he descended to Ontario as fringed with the sites of old villages and clearings, which had been deserted—a description which is borne out by the present aspect of the country, in which I myself could point out 15 or 20 of such ancient vestiges. Tradition points to it as the former country of the Hurons, who had been driven from it by the wars; and who, when we first became acquainted with them, had taken refuge in the narrow limits of the peninsula comprised between Lake Simcoe, Matchedash Bay, and Lake Huron, where they occupied 23 villages, and must have numbered 30,000 souls, almost equal to the population which that territory now supports. In not much more than 50 years after this the whole aspect of the country had changed. The Hurons had been extirpated, except a small remnant who took refuge in the far-west and a few families who came down with their missionaries to Quebec; and even these were not safe from their deadly enemies. The Petuns, the Neuters, the Eries, the Illinois, and the Delawares, had

shared the same fate; and the conquering Iroquois were dominant from Long Island Sound to Lake Michigan, and from the mouth of the Susquehannah to Nipissing. It is melancholy to look over a map of the period, like Lahontan's, and to compare it with those of earlier date. The Iroquois wars had told their tale in the meantime; and where Champlain indicates populous tribes, we have only the ominous symbol of a death's-head and cross-bones, with the legend, "*Nation détruite*." All this had occurred without the intervention of the white man; and there has been no disappearance of a savage race, since the diseases and vices which civilization brings in its train, which has surpassed, even if it has equalled in completeness and rapidity, the desolation which the conquering Iroquois spread around them. They, too, have now nearly vanished from the scene of their former power under other influences, and may soon, like the Eries and Hurons, be remembered only by a name; and when we find such extraordinary vicissitudes occurring during the brief space of which we have any certain record, we cease to be so much surprised at the total disappearance of the Mound-Builders and other pre-historic races.

The other point to which I would call your attention is the extraordinary rapidity with which the French spread themselves over the continent, as compared with the progress of the English. The commencement of the colony may date from the foundation of Quebec by Champlain in 1608, one year after the permanent establishment of the English at Jamestown, and one year before that of the Dutch at New York, and 12 years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. The colonies, therefore, commenced nearly on equal terms; yet within seven years the French had reached Lake Huron whilst it was nearly a century before they considered a considerable distance from the Atlantic. Wars now broke out, which for nearly a century almost entirely to the Lower States, where they were brought to a close,

or, rather, succeeded by a hollow truce, than the tide of discovery, which had been pent-up, spread over the whole continent, and in a very few years extended to the North Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and to the Rocky Mountains. Much of this difference must, no doubt, be ascribed to the facilities afforded by our immense chain of lakes and rivers; and much to the missionary spirit of the Recollets and Jesuits, who penetrated, spite of dangers and privations, to every tribe where there was a chance of propagating the faith. Something, too, may be due to the ambition of the Government at home, which was latterly constantly prompting its Governors to the acquisition of new territory, whilst the British were left very much to themselves. But the difference must mainly be attributed to the national character of the settlers themselves. The Englishman, grave and earnest, settled himself at once on his farm, and devoted any leisure he could spare to framing laws for the government of the society which surrounded him, and in determining the religious disputes which arose amongst them. He was essentially a member of a community, and rarely pushed beyond reach of his neighbours and the vicinity of his church and village council until lack of space compelled the hive to give off a swarm. The Frenchman, on the contrary, with characteristic impetuosity, leaving the cares of State to the Governor and the Intendant, and the questions of religion to his priests, plunged at once into the excitement and adventure, which, in spite of its hardships, gives such an irresistible charm to a half-savage life. We have seen the constant endeavours to check this tendency of the population to wander, and the stringent edicts which prohibited any excursions beyond the limits of settlements. But nature is stronger than laws, and the *courcurs de bois* were to be found everywhere, and often, no doubt, where no record of their adventures has been preserved. Only eight years after Champlain's great expedition, at the time when Quebec could count barely 50 inhabitants, we find Sagard,

whilst a missionary amongst the Hurons, on Lake Simcoe, speaking of a welcome supply of meat which had been given to him by a party of French hunters.

If the Celt has marked his progress on this continent by the dash and *élan* which characterizes him as a soldier, but cannot always resist long-continued obstacles, the Saxon has equally exhibited the invincible tenacity which enables him to advance step by step, in spite of difficulties, and to keep what he gains. We in Canada have a union of the two races, and we are not without indications that each has modified the tendencies of the other. Let us hope that a new nation may have been founded here, and that it may combine the best characteristics of the two great nations of the old world from which we are descended.



NOTE.—With the courteous permission of the publishers of "The Canadian Monthly," this article is reproduced from the July number of that periodical.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC,

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1873.

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, have much pleasure in announcing to its members the continued prosperity of the Society as evinced, not only by the state of its funds, but also by the number of new members who have been incorporated into the Society; the tide of prosperity has not ceased flowing, and will, they trust, continue in an unabated stream during the years to come.

They have to deplore the loss by death of W. J. Anderson, Esq., M.D., President of the Society—one who devoted himself with the utmost assiduity to the promotion of its interests and usefulness. He was the author of a "Life of the Duke of Kent;" "The Tourists Guide;" and he contributed several valuable papers upon the early History of Canada, which will be found in the published Transactions.

They have also to announce, with sincere regret, their loss by death, of the following members:—The Honorable Henry Black, C.B., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, an original member of the Society; John W. Cook, Esq., advocate; Baron K. G. A. Falkenberg, Knight of the Orders of St. Olaf and Vasa, Consul General for Sweden and Norway; and Lucien Turcotte, Esq., Professor at Law, Laval University. And by resignation: Messrs. J. W. Wilkinson, E. J. Duchesney, R. Middleton, J. Simons, and W. H. Brown. On the other hand, they have pleasure in stating that seventy new members have been
the number of members is now

During the past year large and valuable additions, both by purchase and donation, have been made to the Library, which comprises now 8,477 volumes, in which the several departments of Literature are well represented. Nearly all the Standard Magazines and Reviews are taken in for the use of members visiting the Rooms of the Society ; and in addition to these the Council have lately ordered two leading London papers, the *Times*, and the *Spectator*, in both of which valuable reports on the Arts and Sciences, occasionally appear. With a view to render the Library more useful and available than it has hitherto been, the Council, responding to the wishes of the members, have recently made arrangements to keep the Rooms open from seven p.m. till ten p.m., in addition to the usual hours ; members whose occupations prevent them from visiting the Rooms during the day, can now avail themselves of the new arrangements. The current expenses of the Society in connection with the change, have been greatly increased ; and the Council trust they will not be disappointed by paucity of attendance. They consider it an imperative duty on their part, to render the Library of the Society as generally useful as possible, and to offer every opportunity for improvement by learning and culture.

It may be proper to mention that many members manifested a desire to introduce the game of Chess into the Rooms of the Society. The Council would have had much pleasure in meeting their wishes, provided it could have been done without any infringement of the Charter. As considerable difference of opinion existed among members on the subject, the Council deemed it desirable to obtain a legal opinion, and the following resolution was moved, seconded, and carried :—"That the Council be authorized to submit to G. O. Stuart, Esq., Q.C., the question whether the introduction of Chess into the Rooms would violate the Charter." The question was accordingly submitted, and the answer is as follows :—

OPINION :

"I have carefully perused the Royal Charter, by which an Association of persons was created a corporation, by the name of ' The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, ' for the purpose of answering the question suggested by the accompanying Resolution of the Council of the Society."

The original association was formed, and the Charter was afterwards granted, 1st, for the prosecution of researches into the early History of Canada. 2ndly, for the recovering, procuring, and publishing documents, and useful information, on the natural, civil, and literary History of British North America ; and 3rdly, for the advancement of the Arts and Sciences in the Province of Lower Canada, from which public benefit may be expected ; with power to make statutes, by-laws, rules, and orders fit and expedient for the more effectual attainment of the objects above mentioned, and the administration of its affairs ; but not repugnant to law or the Charter.

As it is a principle of law governing corporations that their power must be limited to the cases and objects for which they are incorporated, the game of chess, to admit of its being legally introduced into the Rooms of the Society, must fall under one of the foregoing heads. A definition of the term "Game" to be found in the Imperial Dictionary is "An Exercise or play for amusement, or winning a stake, as a game of cricket; a game of chess; a game of whist; and it appears to me, that neither amusement, or the winning of stakes, can be classed with Literary and Historical researches and pursuits, or to be identified with science that public benefit may be expected from it.

Should the Society pass an order for the introduction of Chess into its Rooms, there would be two objections to it. 1st. That games or amusements were not contemplated by the founders of the Society and do not fall within the terms of the Charter; and as a natural consequence, 2ndly; The application or appropriation of the Rooms of the Society for the purpose, would be a misapplication of its property; and should there be added the purchase of tables, chess-boards, and other conveniences for the chess-players, there would be a diverting of the funds of the Society, from their legitimate destination to the purposes of private amusement; either of which objections, I am of opinion would be well founded, and therefore that the introduction of Chess into the Rooms of the Society would be repugnant to, and in violation of the Charter."

(Signed,) G. O. STUART, Q. C.

Quebec, 22nd December, 1873.

While every attention has been bestowed upon the Library, the museum has not been overlooked, on the contrary it has been enriched by many valuable additions. The specimens of Ornithology in our possession are probably as numerous and as fine as can be found in any collection in Canada. The Council would invite attention to the collection of eggs of American Birds. It is considered a valuable one, and will be useful to the student of Ornithology. For further information respecting the Museum, they refer to the Report of the Curator.

The following papers have been read and published in the transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, session 1872-73.

Paper I.—On some additional incidents in connection with the siege and blockade of Quebec in 1775-6, by Lieut.-Colonel William T. Coffin, Ottawa, Ontario. Read before the Society, December 18, 1872, by the late President.

Paper II.—On a whaling voyage to Spitzbergen in 1818, by James Douglas, M. D. Read before the Society by the author.

Paper III.—Historic Medals of Canada, by Alfred Sandham, of Montreal Read before the Society, April 9, 1873.

Paper IV.—Some observations on Canadian Chorography and Topography, and on the meritorious services of the late Jean Baptiste Duberger, Senr., by H. H. Miles, LL.D. Read before the Society, January 29, 1873.

The Council have now the pleasure of laying before the members the Treasurer's Report on the state of the funds of the Society, which, it will be at once perceived, are in a satisfactory state.

They take this opportunity of expressing their entire satisfaction with the manner in which Mr. Judd, the assistant secretary, has discharged his onerous duties ; and they have pleasure in stating that when it was proposed to extend the hours of attendance from seven p.m. till ten p.m. , he did not hesitate to place his services at the disposal of the Council.

In conclusion, the Council report, as they did on a former occasion, that the good understanding between the Morrin College, and the Society, continues unimpaired.

They have now to resign their trust into the hands of the members ; and they request for their successors in office, the same friendly support, co-operation and encouragement, which they have experienced during their term of office.

E. D. ASHE,
Commander, Royal Navy,
President.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

— FOR THE —

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1873.

I have the honor to submit the following report on the present condition of the Library, and the use made of it during the past year.

The printed catalogue, whose compilation was commenced five years ago, was received from the printer in May last. It contains the record of 8019 volumes, classified according to their subjects in the first part, and arranged alphabetically in the second. With the assistance of Mr. Judd I have checked the books, and find 458 volumes on our shelves which are not named in the catalogue; and a few works, that were carried from the old catalogue to the new, missing.

There have been added by purchase to the Library 74 volumes, and a further addition of about 50 volumes is on its way from England; and we have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of 63 volumes presented as donations, or sent in exchange for our own publications.

To the periodical literature taken heretofore, and which we receive weekly monthly, and quarterly, as it appears, has been added *Nature*, the recognized medium of scientific intercourse for both sides the Atlantic, and as containing the most unbiassed narratives of current events in history, the *Mail* and *Spectator* newspapers.

Two thousand one hundred and eight volumes have been borrowed by members from the Library, but unfortunately a like number has not been returned. It will be necessary for the Council to enforce such penalties as the by-laws prescribe against members who persistently neglect, not only the Library rules, but the appeals made in writing by the Librarian to return borrowed books.

J. DOUGLAS, JR.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

DONATIONS TO LIBRARY, FOR 1873.

	Vols.
From Dominion Government Statutes of Canada for 1872.....	1
Do do do 1873.....	1
Do Statutes of Canada, 36 Victoria, 1873.....	1
Do Sessional Papers, No. 1 to 7, vol. 6, 1873.....	3
Do Report on Education for 1870-71.....	1
Do Report of Geological Survey of Canada.....	1
Do Catalogue of Parliamentary Library.....	1
Do Maps of Geological Survey of Canada.....	.
Do Census of Canada for 1871.....	1
Do Parliamentary Companion for 1871.....	1
Do Journal of the House of Commons, Canada, vol. 6, 1873.....	1
Do Journal of the Senate of Canada, Canada, vol. 6, 1873.....	1
Essex Institute—Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Salem Mass.....	1
Do Historical Collections, part 1, vol. 1.....	1
Do do do Second series, part 2 vol 1	1
Do do do Part 1, 2 3, vol 10.....	1
Do do Proceedings and Communications, part 3, vol 6.....	1
Do do Collections part 1 vol 11.....	1
Royal Society—Proceedings of Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1872....	1
Do Proceedings of Royal Society of Glasgow, 1872.....	1
Georgia Literary and Historical Society, History of Georgia, 2 vols..	2
Do Historical Collections, vol 2.....	-
Minnesota Historical Society—Minnesota History	
Dr. Anderson—Chapters of Canadian History....	
M. J. Bell—Canada and its Vicinities of Climate	
N. Scotia Institute of Natural Science—Transactions	
Professor Darwin—Story of the Earth and Man..	
T. H. Wynne—Report on the Boundary of Virginia	
H. S. Scott—Method of issuing Library Books....	
L. Bertolotto—Scientific American for 1872.....	
St. Louis Academy of Science—Transactions of th	
Mass. Historical Society—Proceedings of His. Soci	
Boston Society—Proceedings of the Society of Nat	
Manchester City Library—Transactions of Agricu	
to 1860.....	

Royal U. Service Institution—Journal of the Institution, 1872-73. .
 C. G. Glass—Stray Leaves.....
 Rhode Island His. Society—Proceedings of the Society.....
 H. S. Scott—Parliamentary Reports for 1872-73.....
 Boston Antiquarian Society—Proceedings of the Society.....
 New York State Library—Reports for 1873.....
 Do Meteorology.....
 Do Annual of Public Education.....
 Do Cabinet Reports, 1865-66-67-68-69-70-71-72
 Do Regents' reports, 1870-71-72.....
 S. C. Gould, Manchester—About 50 Pamphlets of scientific and gene-
 ral interest.....
 Peabody Academy—Annual Report of the Academy, 1872.....
 Geological Society of Ireland—Journal of the Royal Society.....
 Southern History Society—Proceedings of the Society.....
 North Church Society—The first Centenary of the Society.....
 Philosophical Society of Glasgow—Proceedings of the Society,
 1872-73.....
 Antoine D'Abbadie—Paris 1873, Geodesie d'Ethiopie.....
 Nova Scotia Society of Natural Science—Proceedings and Transac-
 tions.....
 Smith's Catalogue of American Books.....
 J. L. Peyton—Memoirs of W. M. Peyton of Ronoke, vol 1.....
 Dr. Roy—Report of the Quebec Lunatic Asylum, 1873.....

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1873.

Before surrendering in other hands my trust, I shall concisely review the proceedings of the year just closed. Circumstances have enabled the Society to carry out some of the recommendations I made in last year's report, and though our Museum may not contain the entire Fauna of Canada, more than one department is worthily represented.

One above others, has within the year met with material accessions, the Oological Branch. The generality of the members are probably not aware of the importance attached by American and European naturalists to this science for the purpose of identification of species. I have taken advantage of the sale of stock advertised by Mr. Lechevalier, the Montreal taxidermist, previous to his departure for Florida, to acquire something valuable in the way of eggs of American Birds. You can see this collection tastefully arranged, labelled and numbered, so as to be available for the purpose for which it is intended. A good nucleus now exists for what, at a period not far distant, let us hope, will prove an extensive collection of American Oology. In order to have on hand subjects for exchange and not thereby lose, as formerly, the chance of acquiring foreign birds, the taxidermist of the Society, Mr. Belanger, has been instructed to continue the preparation of skins of Canadian birds; several of the latter are gifts, the rest are purchases.

In consequence of the outlay for eggs, no funds were devoted this year to complete our display of Canadian woods; this subject, however, is of too vital importance to rest long in abeyance.

Strangers visiting our rooms are surprised at the absence of the large denizens of our forests; such as the bear, the deer, the wolf, &c. Had we space,

nothing could be more welcome than well-mounted specimens in our Museum of the beautiful class of *Cervidæ* in the British possessions—the moose, the woodland and the barren ground Cariboo, the Virginian and other Deer, &c. Let us hope this *lacuna* will be filled up some time or other. It is with regret I notice a very interesting province of Natural History much neglected—Entomology. Long shall we feel the loss of our active Entomologist, Mr. J. G. Bowles, who has left for Montreal. What a delightful study insect life presents! Who has not admired the azure, green and gold spangles on Vanessa's wing, or the Humming Spinx on the lilac blossoms in June; and still how few can tell the daily habits of either—their mysterious transformations from grub to chrysalis, from a torpid chrysalis to a gaudy, perfume-loving insect!

And is there nothing to be said in favor of Botany, a study undoubtedly within the scope of our pursuits? When shall we be able to add an Herbarium for the benefit of the amateur botanists our Society counts amongst its members?

It is satisfactory to be able to notice that the study of Natural History, in one of its most fascinating forms—ornithology—is rapidly gaining ground.

In an addition to an elementary treatise on Canadian Birds, Toronto (alas why is it not Quebec?) possesses a periodical, "The Ornithologist," likely to meet with satisfactory encouragement.

One branch of our Museum, from its practical bearing, ought to receive especial favor: the Ores and Minerals of Canada. The collection might be enlarged and more space allotted. The numismatic display, through purchases and donations is rapidly increasing. Some of the new English Medals, as objects of artistic skill, are so beautiful to behold as to enlist the admiration of every man of taste, whilst others, time-worn, time-honored, depict vividly several of the most momentous events in Canadian History; the Defence of Quebec by Frontenac in 1690—its fall by Wolfe—the Death of the Hero, &c. At a juncture like the present, when every effort is made to obliterate the landmarks of the past, in our picturesque, historical and loved fortress, let us be thankful that History may yet live on Medals and Coins.

The whole respectfully submitted.

J. M. LaMour,
C. M.

Quebec, January, 1874.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

DONATIONS TO MUSEUM, FOR 1873.

From A Lechevalier, Montreal :— 36 New Species of Eggs.

- " W Judd, jr. :—A Shilling piece of 1763.
 - " Dr. W. Marsden :—A Ferry Token in use on the Ferry between Quebec and Levis in 1821.
 - " the Misses Joseph :—A Loon's Egg found at Riviere du Loup, 1 English Farthing,—5 and 10 Centimes, Belgium,—Ten and Two centimes, Italian,—Five, Two, and One centimes, France,—a Five centime, French Republic,—Twenty, Ten, Five, Two, and One Centimes, Switzerland,—Two pieces Lava from Mount Vesuvius,—One piece of Brick taken from a House in Pompeii,—One piece of Lava from the Excavations in Pompeii,—One twisted Shell from Mobile,—One Starfish from Riviere du Loup.
 - " J. McLaren :—Some petrified Shells from Mingan Islands, North Shore St. Lawrence.
 - " Dr. Marsden :—A Squid or Ink Fish.
 - " Dr. Bligh, through Dr. Marsden :—The Fangs of a Rattlesnake.
 - " J. K. Boswell :—A Sheldrake.
do A Black Woodpecker.
 - " C. Lindsay :—A Ten Centime of Charles the 10th.
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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

IN ACCOUNT WITH THE TREASURER.

1873.	Dr.	
	To balance from last year.....	\$755 11
	" Government grant.....	750 00
	" Interest on Bank Deposits	45 75
	" Subscription from Members.....	843 80
		<u>\$2,394 66</u>
1873.	Cr.	
	By paid Rent.....	\$200 00
	" Insurance	52 75
	" Salaries	174 72
	" Gas and Fuel.....	153 17
	" Books, Periodicals, Printing and Adver- tising.....	704 41
	" Museum.....	76 90
	" Commission to Collector.....	41 80
	" Incidental Expenses.....	276 05
		<u>\$1,679 80</u>
		\$ 714 86
1874.		
January 1st.—	To Historical Document Fund.....	\$139 42
	" Life Members Fund.....	54 65
	" General Fund.....	520 79
		<u>\$714 86</u>

WM. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1874-75.

JAMES DOUGLAS, jr.....	<i>President.</i>
JAMES STEVENSON.....	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
W. BOSWELL, M.D.....	
H. FABRE.....	
COL. STRANGE.....	
W. HOSSACK.....	<i>Treasurer.</i>
W. A. HOLWELL.....	<i>Librarian.</i>
C. TESSIER.....	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
W. CLINT.....	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
A. ROBERTSON, jr.....	<i>Council Secretary.</i>
J. M. LAMOINE.....	<i>Curator of the Museum.</i>
E. D. ASHE, Com. R. N.....	<i>Curator of Apparatus.</i>
H. S. SCOTT.....	} <i>Additional Members of Council.</i>
Rev. H. D. POWIS.....	
J. F. BELLEAU.....	
N. H. E. FAUCHER DE ST. MAURICE.. ..	

N. B.—The “ Publications ” and “ Transactions ” of the Society may be obtained on application to the Librarian at the Library.

SESSION OF 1874-75.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

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**SESSION OF 1874-75.**  
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**PAPER I.—THE PRESENT STATE OF LITERATURE IN
CANADA, AND THE INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF
ITS PEOPLE DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.**

By JAMES DOUGLAS, JUNIOR, PRESIDENT.

(Read before the Society on the 3rd of March, 1875.)

WITH the year 1874 closed the fiftieth year of the existence of our Society ; and, therefore, I have thought an appropriate theme on which to address you is the intellectual progress of Canada, and more especially of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario during the last half century. At its creation, expectations of a very exalted kind were entertained with regard to the influence of our Society. In their address to the public its founders said : “ It will raise us in the moral and intellectual scale of nations. It will cherish our noblest feelings of honour and patriotism, by showing that, the more men become acquainted with the history of their country the more they prize both their country and themselves. In a literary point of view, it is fair to expect that the formation of this Society will introduce a lasting bond of union and correspondence between men eminent for rank, erudition and genius, from one extremity of the British provinces to another.” We can scarcely claim to have fulfilled these anticipations ; nevertheless our Society has doubtless done

much to encourage and foster a love of literature in this city ; and in its publications it has distributed to historical students the world over documents to which they have acknowledged their indebtedness. The Society has always afforded its members access to a good library, and, in addition, has tried in various ways to stimulate literary activity and encourage investigation in physical science ; but the results have not been encouraging. Yet, when we look to see what success similar endeavours, made by kindred societies, have met with, we find that the disappointment has been general. We are, therefore, led to seek for influences operating everywhere in Canada, which are detrimental to literary culture and literary production ; and for such influences we shall not search far ere we find them.

Though leisure cannot be accounted necessary to the cultivation of literature, few men absorbed in the toil and business of life will be found willing to spend their spare moments in what for a time at least will be arduous occupation, the thorough understanding and appropriation of good books. The taste for reading has in most cases to be acquired, and the acquisition is not always easily made ; and, therefore, in a population where few have enjoyed the training of a University, and there learnt to love learning for its own sake, and where nearly all have either passed from school to the drudgery of a commercial house or the hardly less elevating influences of strictly professional study, it is not to be wondered at should there be but little inclination for any other than merely amusing reading. It is a pity that it should be so, but the education of the mass of our people must be carried beyond the elementary stage where it usually stops, before much improvement in this respect can be looked for. In this new land of ours, every man is struggling for a living ; or, if that has been secured, for a competency ; or, if this has been gained, for wealth. A very small class has inherited wealth, and the culture, which across the Atlantic so often accompanies it,—a culture derived from generations

of highly educated well-bred ancestors. So few in fact have been born to wealth and leisure, that all may be said to be straining every nerve to acquire them. Unfortunately it usually happens that those who succeed in attaining the former have in the process so dwarfed their higher faculties as to have become unfit to appreciate the advantages of and rightly use the latter.

When our Society was founded in 1824, the population of the Canadas was about 574,600, and that of our large cities somewhat as follows:—Quebec, 26,000; Montreal, 22,000; Kingston, 2,849; Toronto, under 2,000. Since then, by natural increase and by immigration, the population of Quebec and Ontario has swelled to 2,812,367. How the energies of this growing population have been expended is apparent in some of the older hamlets having sprung up into spacious and handsomely built towns, and the older towns having assumed the proportions of influential cities; in thousands and thousands of square miles of wild land cleared and converted into arable fields; in an annual exportation of \$90,610,573 instead of \$7,237,425, as in 1829, and in an annual importation of \$126,500,000 instead of \$6,169,500, as in 1829; in over 218 miles of canal dug, and 3,669 miles of railway built, and in the country having risen from comparative commercial insignificance to the position of the sixth maritime nation of the world. The result and object of such activity, displayed by so comparatively small a population, is decidedly hostile to, if not incompatible, with literary culture. It has been brought about only by every man employing himself almost uninterruptedly in manual labour or commercial pursuits or purely professional services. It does not necessarily follow that these employments should exclude the cultivation of letters, for the hardest worked farmer or artizan can find many an hour, usually spent in apathy, which, if devoted to intellectual culture, would prove the best spent hours of all the year, and the most pecuniarily profitable too; and the mercantile man has a

still larger store of spare time at his command. But the fact remains that, amongst us, these classes do read very little and that the mental and physical toil, to which their occupations expose them, offer a fair explanation of the fact, though not a justification of it.

In proof of the fact that we are not a reading people, the smallness and fewness of our public libraries bear humiliating testimony. In Montreal, the commercial capital of the Dominion, and a city whose corporation and whose citizens are ostentatious in the expenditure of wealth for purposes of outward show, there is not a public library worthy of the name, none at all of any kind to compare even with our own of 8,000 volumes. Toronto has a large University Library open for reference only to the public, but no free library of any pretensions; and all our other large cities are as badly or worse off. Even the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, which has on its shelves 75,000 volumes, is small when compared with the Boston City Library, which circulates freely among the public 270,000 volumes. Boston possesses moreover in the Athenæum Library another collection of books of equal size; and in New York, Jacob Astor bestowed freely on the public a magnificent library of almost as many volumes. Our own library and the small collection of the Montreal Natural History Society, the library of the Canadian Institute of Toronto, the Law Library of Osgood Hall, our various College and Parliamentary libraries, are none of them accessible to the public, and are not, therefore, correctly speaking public libraries, which it is a crying disgrace to Canada that she should be almost entirely deficient in. I was strongly impressed with the immense benefit which may accrue from such benefactions, by noticing lately the class of men who frequented the free reading room and library of the Cooper Institute of New York, on a Sunday afternoon. There were in it not less than 600 men, principally mechanics and labourers, reading in hushed silence, men who, from their appearance, had they

not been there, would have been, that cold winter afternoon, warming themselves in far different resorts.

Now, if we be not a reading people, we are sure not to be a literature-producing people. For writing is an art only to be acquired by a long and pains-taking apprenticeship, and an art practiced therefore only where there are readers to appreciate and reward it. Even when there be genius in the writer to suggest thought, unless he possess also skill in the use of words, which shall enable him to express his thoughts clearly in language, and the art of arranging his thoughts thus expressed so that they shall impress and not confuse the mind of his reader, his genius will be of little avail to him; and these qualifications are the product usually of long practice only. Proofs of this are many. Very able men, for instance, have always written for the leading American magazines, but their articles have been till of late crude and uninteresting as compared with similar productions in Great Britain; for, though good thinkers, these writers had not learnt that necessary art of putting just enough and no more thought into an article, of beginning it with an attractive paragraph and rounding it off with that finish which gives it the appearance of completeness. A thoroughly well written magazine article, from a professional pen, is worth studying for its style; but still more artistic is often an editorial from a leading English newspaper. The art displayed in introducing the subject by an appropriate metaphor or aphorism, the skill with which a multitude of facts are described in a few words, but so combined, that the mind without effort passes from the facts to the conclusion which the writer wishes to draw from them, and the unhesitating confidence with which he clinches the argument, are all qualities which practice and not native talent alone confer on a writer. And the same is equally true of book-making. A mere chronological stringing together of historical facts, for instance, is not writing history. The annalist is the historian's drudge. It

is the part of the historian so to weave together facts, and so to identify them with persons and places as to give life and reality to the period he is describing. To do this well he must possess the power of combination, which makes the dramatist, and the vivid imagination of the poet; and these faculties must be controlled and guided by logic and a severe regard to truth. Now, writing history is popularly supposed to demand little genius and little skill; but, if I have correctly defined the qualifications of the historian, it is evident that he who is to succeed in that branch of literature must possess, not only a large stock of mental endowments, but have learnt by long practice how to make best use of them. The wide disparity there exists between annals and history any one will immediately feel who will read together the volume our Society has published on Jacques Cartier's Voyages and Mr. Parkman's Chapters on the same subject, in his "Pioneers of France in the New World." Any accurate observer can write a book of annals, but a life has to be devoted to literature ere such masterpieces are produced as Macaulay's "History of England" or Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella." The charm of such books depends as much on their style as on the information they convey, and such style is not so much the gift of nature as the product of art, and not therefore to be looked for in the writings of men who are wearied with physical toil or immersed in the sordid cares of business.

Writing is a profession, and good writing seldom comes from any but those who practice it as such, and whose whole thoughts are set on literary pursuits. There are, no doubt, notable instances of men who have attained high rank in literature and who yet followed other avocations. Roscoe was a Liverpool merchant, but he failed ignominiously in business. Charles Lamb was a clerk in the India House. John Stuart Mill and his father held similar posts. Arthur Helps was Secretary to the Privy Council. Anthony Trollope has or had an appointment in the Post Office Department.

Greg is in the English Civil Service. And yet all these men have written most excellent books. But they are or were men whose avocations simply absorbed so many hours of the day without filling their minds at all times with cares and with thoughts hostile to calm reflection.

There is another class of writers in old countries which is wanting here. Men of highest culture and wealth, and who, if they chose, could devote all their leisure to literature, but often prefer to unite literature with politics. We find three notable instances of that class in the late Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. All these have written books which would be accounted good, even if not the productions of British Prime Ministers. We, in Canada, have had Premiers and public officers of no mean talent or literary skill, but I fear the claims of political life are more exacting and harassing here than in Great Britain; and in the class of men who possess both culture and wealth we are lamentably deficient.

But though literature is sometimes seriously followed as a pastime, it is generally pursued as a trade by men who earn their bread by it. Such a class, however, can exist only where there is a market for their wares, and such a market there certainly is not in Canada. The newspaper editor is paid; and his lieutenants, who scour the streets to pick up scraps of gossip, are paid also: and our magazines do their best to pay a pittance to their contributors; but no man could live on the money product of other literary work than that of the newspaper press in Canada. A Colonial publisher knows his own interest too well to give anything worth while for a manuscript which, if he publish it, will be likely not to meet with sale enough to cover cost of printing. A Canadian book is sure, with the stigma of a colonial imprimatur upon it, not to circulate beyond the confines of the Dominion; and, therefore, when a Canadian writes a

meritorious book like Todd's "Parliamentary Government," or Heavyside, "Jephthah's Daughter," he seeks a publisher abroad.

It is not, therefore, because we have not and have not had men of talent in Canada that our literature is so scanty, but because remuneration for literary labour is not great enough to withdraw talent from other more lucrative walks of life, and because our colonial society is without that large class of men, inheriting both wealth and culture, who, in the old world, compose the powerful body of literary volunteers that so ably supports the army of professional writers.

I would not be understood to imply that Canada has not produced some literary work. Mr. Morgan's carefully compiled Dictionary of Canadian Authors is a large volume, and shows what a host of writers in all departments of literature Canada has produced, and M. Edmond Lareau's "Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne," corroborates the fact. But while we are thus surprised at the number of men who have resorted to the press in order to circulate their thoughts, we are the more surprised that so little of this vast mass of printed matter should have possessed sufficient value to survive.

Fifty years ago there had been hardly a book published in Canada. Political pamphlets had streamed from the press, and nineteen newspapers at that date gave a meagre outline of home and foreign news; but the leading spirits of the country were too immersed in political strife to devote time and thought to literature. Of intellectual activity displayed by men of great intellectual power there was no lack, but the activity found vent in one direction only. Neither before nor since has Canada possessed a band of men of greater power than those who, on both sides, fought the battle of the constitution in the House of Assembly, and, unfortunately, out of it too. There were Bédard, Papineau, Lafontaine, Jules Quesnel, John Neilson, Sir James Stuart, Andrew

Stuart, Chief Justice Sewell, and a multitude of others, men of lofty talent and wide acquirement, but who could spare no time from their all-absorbing occupations to write aught more pretentious or enduring than political or professional pamphlets. In 1823, however, a magazine was started in Montreal, "The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository;" and in 1824, a rival appeared in the same city, "The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal," both conducted with considerable ability, though written in a painfully stilted style, and displaying too strong a political bias to circulate beyond the limits of the Montreal English party. In 1824, moreover, appeared in Kingston the first two-volumed novel that issued from a Canadian press, with the ominous title "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada, containing scenes from real life." But it was not till political quiet succeeded the turmoil of nearly half a century, and till liberty of the press allowed our newspapers to expand from shabby semi-weekly sheets into daily journals, so short of matter that the aspirant after literary fame could be pretty sure of being allowed a corner for his pet production in prose or verse, that we began to produce *belles lettres*. The sum total of all that has been published since in *brochure* or in book form is really very considerable. Of course most of it possesses no value, but it is not in Canada only that measures of quantity and quality as applied to literature are not convertible terms. And out of the mass some shelves full of really good books can be picked. It is not fair to call John Galt a native author, but Judge Haliburton was born, bred and educated in Nova Scotia, and, therefore, we may claim the author of "Sam Slick" as altogether our own. Mrs. Moodie wrote before she emigrated to Canada, but she was fully naturalised when she published "Roughing it in the Bush," and Mrs. Leprohon is by birth and at heart a Canadian. Other English ladies have written good stories with considerable skill; and more cannot be expected, considering how few anywhere succeed in doing better.

French Canadian *littérateurs*, however, produce upon the whole better romances and novellettes than the English. "Charles Guerin," "Jacques et Marie," "Jean Rivard," possess style as well as plot; and the stories of our associate, M. Faucher de St. Maurice, are picturesque and so well constructed that the interest of the narrative rises in intensity to the climax.

A good poem is the product of an age, and it is, therefore, no disgrace if Canada has not been the fortunate home of its author. The only work of importance which has issued from the Canadian press is "Heavyside's Saul," a dramatic poem, which, despite the dowdy dress in which it appeared, called forth loud praises from the organs of criticism in England. Many other English poets, and, notably, Mr. Sangster, have written harmonious verse. In such compositions, however, our French Canadian writers excel, and to one or two of them is due the high honour of adding to the *repertoire* of Old France.

But it is in the domain of history and political economy where we might have expected much work would have been done; and here very little has been effected. Garneau's "Histoire du Canada," as a comprehensive history of the country, from its discovery to the date of the Union, is a work beyond all praise; for, although written with strong party and national feeling it displays immense research and philosophical spirit; but a first attempt must necessarily be faulty. Dr. Miles' compilations are excellent manuals; and Mr. Lemoine's sketches of history and topography are not only graphic but add largely to our store of facts, and from other pens both French and English have proceeded many good historical essays. But what we might have looked for would have been extended monographs on different epochs in our history, in which the whole of the rich material, even now at the disposal of the student, would have been digested, and a rational connection of the period with the past, and its bearing on the future explained. Short as our history has been, it seems

with dramatic incidents and complications, any one of which is a worthy theme for a historical treatise. Every one will be glad to hear that Mr. Lemoine is now engaged on a more elaborate work than he has yet undertaken. What we want is vivid, and at the same time full descriptions of the past, not merely lofty eulogies on people or periods, about which the panegyrist generally tells too little for us to form an opinion for ourselves. Political economy likewise is a subject on which, had there been much intellectual life among us, treatises would have been written; for by us trying to create a new nationality and to avoid the errors of the old, the subjects of the tenure of land, the treatment of poverty, and the regulation of the currency deserve much attention.

Good work has been done in Canada, and by Canadians, in science. Mr. Bouchette's topographical works are models of accuracy and completeness. Sir William Logan was born in Montreal, and though he studied geology in England, it is on Canadian rocks he exercised that skill which has made him one of the most eminent stratigraphical geologists living. Aided by his *collaborateur*, Dr. Hunt, he won for the survey of Canada and for Canada through its survey, fame, when Canadian politicians were doing their best to bestow on her only an unenviable notoriety. Dr. Hunt was born in the United States, and to the United States he has, to our disgrace, been allowed to return; but Canada can never repay the debt she owes him, not only for the faithful services of twenty-five years, but for allowing her to share in the honour which foreign nations have bestowed on his genius and labours.* Then, again, Dawson is a name known wherever and in whatever language geology is studied; and Billings and Murray, and Bell and Bailey are men who have earned laurels from judges who never distribute their praises

* Since the above was in type, we are happy to state that, Dr. Hunt has been offered the charge of the Chemical Laboratory of the Inland Revenue Department, Ottawa.

too lavishly. The professors of Toronto University, Wilson, Chapman, Croft, Cherriman, and McCaul, are all men whose connection with our country has given us a good repute abroad ; but we cannot claim them as products of Canadian soil.

As I said, therefore, work, and that good work has been done in every department of literature in Canada, but it has been small in quantity and but ill-requited at home.

What then do the three and a half millions who inhabit Canada read ? Imported books and home-made newspapers.

Since 5 per cent duty has been levied, that is since 1868, the following is the custom's return of imports and exports of books, kindly furnished me by Mr. Dunscomb :

YEARS.	TOTAL VALUE IMPORTED.	TOTAL VALUE EXPORTED.
1868	\$478,630	\$13,793
1869	640,820	17,096
1870	674,373	51,793
1871	689,341	32,073
1872	848,922	67,937
1873	938,241	44,832
1874	958,773	37,282

Thus in 1874 books were sold in this country to the value of \$921,491, or at the rate of 26 cts. per head of the population. The duty collected last year from this source amounted to \$47,941.86.

As to the classes to which these imported books belong Mr. McGee told us in 1867, in his lecture on the " Mental Outfit of the New Dominion," on the authority of Mr. Samuel Dawson, of Montreal, that the sales might then be divided somewhat in the following proportions :

Religious Books,	18 per cent. ;
Poetical Books,	10 per cent. ;
Historical, Scientific and Literary,	28 per cent. ;
Works of Fiction,	44 per cent. ;

but the money value of the several classes of books most in demand was of

Historical, Scientific and Literary,	45 per cent. ;
Works of Fiction,	22 per cent. ;
Poetical Works,	15 per cent. ;
Religious Works,	18 per cent.

Great changes in the direction of European thought have taken place since then, with which, of course, we sympathize, and, therefore, corresponding changes in the character of the books most read. These influences, Mr. Dawson tells me, have notably disturbed the previous calculation. Never in his recollection has poetry been less read, and science and theology more than now. The Vatican Council and its results, and the contest between science and religion, are subjects discussed no longer in purely theological and scientific circles, but are the topics of every day conversation, and are really affecting the mental and social life of the people. But while books on polemics are of all religious productions those most read, it is hopeful to know that Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" is still that of which more copies are sold than of any other theological work. Moreover, the juvenile book trade is assuming such growing proportions as to excite the apprehension that adults are really delegating more and more the duty of reading, and of mental culture to youth.

Mr. Dawson would, therefore, modify his calculations of books now sold as follows :

Religious books,	20 per cent. ;
Poetry,	8 per cent. ;
History and Literature,	16 per cent. ;
Science,	20 per cent. ;
Fiction,	36 per cent.

A decline in the item of fiction from 44 per cent. to 36 per cent. is hopeful, if the improvement be not more apparent than real; but as nearly all novels now come out in periodicals before assuming book shape, there may be a decrease in the number of novels sold, while there is in fact an increase in the number read. Take our own case, for instance. We exclude from our Library the works of all living novelists, but cover our table with a profusion of periodicals, nearly all of which, even the organ of advanced realism, the "Fortnightly Review," are issuing serial fictions: and these periodicals when bound are the most read of all our books. Appearances, therefore, may be deceptive, and I fear are in this instance.

Our home publishing trade, it will be inferred from my previous remarks, is not large. Besides the few Canadian books, there are re-printed some popular English novels; but since Confederation, the number of articles copyrighted, including books, pamphlets, music and photographs, has reached only 625.

In the department of newspaper literature, there has been wondrous growth, but here more than elsewhere, quantity and quality are in inverse ratio to each other. From a note to the Canadian Review for July 1824, I find that there were then published nineteen newspapers in Upper and Lower Canada, of which six only were even semi-weekly:

4	were published in Quebec ;
7	in Montreal ;
1	in Brockville ;
2	in Kingston ;
2	in York ;
1	in Niagara ;
1	in Queenstown ;
1	in Stantead, Lower Canada.

From Rowell's Newspaper Directory for 1874, I gather that there are now published in Canada and New Foundland 470 newspapers and periodicals, of all descriptions, distributed as follows, to wit:

PROVINCES.	Daily.	Tri Weekly.	Semi-Weekly.	Weekly.	Bi-Weekly.	Semi-Monthly	Monthly.	Bi-Monthly.	Quarterly.	Total.
Ontario.....	23	1	1	212	1		16	1		255
Quebec.....	12	11	3	41		1	17		3	88
Nova Scotia.....	4	5		24	1		4			38
New Brunswick	4	3		21			4		1	33
British Columbia.....	3	2	7	17	2					31
Prince Edward's Island		1	1	7						9
Manitoba.....				3						3
New Foundland		1	5	5	2					13
	46	24	17	330	6	1	41	1	4	470

In 1867—the first year of confederation—the Canadian Post-Office distributed 14,000,000 newspapers; during the year ending June, 1873, the number was 25,480,000, an increase greatly out of proportion with the growth of population.

Newspaper literature is, therefore, the chief mental pabulum of our people. What then is its character?

If we compare a London newspaper with one of the best New York dailies, we find that they are conducted on totally different systems, and adopt very different styles of writing. Column after column of the American newspapers is filled with foreign and home telegraphic news, most of which, though of little importance or interest, costs hundreds of dollars daily. But the editorial page instead

of being occupied with calm and dignified discussions on leading questions, contains, besides some longer articles, a number of isolated paragraphs, criticising current events and prominent men with a fierce party bias and an utter disregard for the feelings of individuals, not to say of truth. These comments, though striking, often startling, are too flippant in tone to be consistent with the responsibilities of journalism. But even more repulsive to taste are the *facetiae*, consisting of diluted wit and stale jokes, with which even leading American newspapers fill the gaps in their columns; and the interviewers' reports of conversations with crowned heads and condemned felons, who, through some strange fascination, are induced to unbosom their secrets more freely to the correspondent than the one class do to their ministers or the other to their attorneys. The reports of proceedings in the courts are told in language travestied from Dickens, and the most ordinary incidents of news are narrated in a grandiloquent style, and with a profuse use of bombastic words utterly bad under any circumstances and ridiculously inappropriate to the trifling subjects under narration. As purveyors of news, the American papers altogether outstrip the English, and their proprietors shew a degree of enterprise and a liberality towards their employees worthy of all commendation; but in pandering to the low tastes of the multitude for horrors, in their inquisitorial prying into domestic affairs, and the prominence and sensational colouring they give to every revelation of vice, they, generally speaking, diffuse harm not good among their readers; while the English language is suffering from the slang and the exaggeration which characterize their style of writing. We cannot claim for any class of British newspapers complete exemption from the same faults in matter and manner, and there is an evident tendency in the more recently established British Journals to copy the United States rather than the older English models. Nevertheless, as a rule, English newspapers discuss the topics of the day

more fully and more calmly than do the American ; they do not indulge in such undisguised personalities ; they do not flaunt the instances of immorality they may be obliged to chronicle in such gaudy colours before their readers, and the style of writing in the older journals is not disfigured by such glaring departures from the standards of good composition as we must all have been annoyed with in the American newspaper.

It is to be regretted that our own papers have imitated the American rather than the English type. When we consider the position of a newspaper in a small community, we readily see that it labours under peculiar disadvantages. It can with difficulty be independent. Therefore too generally our newspapers, out of fear or friendship, lavish praise where no praise is due, and refrain from censure and exposure where grave abuses call for blame. The power of a single man or a powerful corporation is enough to blunt the pen of the most valiant editor of a local journal, which, dependent for mere existence on a handful of subscribers, can afford to offend none. A recent trial in England, which exposed the relations between the city editor of the *Times* and the great company-monger, Baron Grant, proves what was already currently believed, that even the writers of the greatest English journal are not proof against mercenary considerations. If so, we can hardly expect that a provincial paper, which would be almost ruined by the withdrawal of the support and advertisements of a single patron, should take an unbiassed view of, and fully expose the deeds and misdeeds of friend and foe alike. Moreover, our newspapers cannot possibly pay lavishly for news or liberally for matter. The cost of supporting a staff of home and foreign writers, and of printing a large paper, can only be sustained by a circulation of hundreds of thousands. Our papers are fortunate when their subscription list contain some thousand names ; and, therefore, it is unreasonable to demand such writing as is found in

newspapers with a world-wide circulation, or that there should be such a profusion of recent intelligence and telegraphic news as the New York papers boast of offering their readers. But while these advantages must be confined to journals published at the centres of intellectual and commercial wealth, it does not follow that what our journals can offer should not be good of its kind ; and that as a rule it is not. Public events are discussed in a narrow party spirit, the same spirit which unhappily has diffused itself through our politics, and makes our public men on the alert to detect and magnify new points of difference instead of aiming at reconciling the few that really exist. When any important subject occupies the public mind—such as the Pacific Railway complication of last year—the evils of party journalism appear very prominently in an utter contempt of honour, and fair-play, and a supreme disregard for the sanctity of private character. Nor is the style of our editorials better than their matter. Simplicity and a use of Anglo-Saxon words seem to be sedulously avoided. In the extracts from foreign journals as little taste is shewn as in the original communications ; and one is therefore driven to admit, that, if the intellectuality of the country is to be gauged by the character of its newspapers, it is low indeed. There are journalists of talent and education and refinement, who write for both the English and Canadian press. It would be invidious to mention them. But I am sure that none would be more ready than they to admit that what I have said is substantially true.

Attempt after attempt has been made to sustain a monthly magazine in Canada, but not, as yet, with complete success. At the commencement of the period we are reviewing, two very respectable monthlies, as already mentioned, were published in Montreal “The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository” and the “Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal.” Neither lived long ; and, since their decease, have been started and stopped the “Literary

Garland," in Montreal, the "Victoria Magazine," in Belleville, the "Anglo-American Magazine," in Toronto, the "British American Magazine," in Toronto, and probably others of which I have no knowledge. These all languished and died for want of support. As literary productions they were, of course, far inferior to British Magazines; and, though they all aimed at discussing home questions from a broader point of view than the newspaper press, they did not always succeed in doing so. At present there are two monthly periodicals printed in English, the "Dominion Monthly," in Montreal, and the "Canadian Monthly," in Toronto. The former has already enjoyed the unusually long existence of seven years; the latter has passed through grave vicissitudes, though only three years old, and heretofore supported, if not edited, by one of most brilliant political writers of Britain, Prof. Goldwin Smith. It is undoubtedly the best literary periodical which has yet been published in Canada, and it would be surprising were it not, considering its greater command of writers, owing to our increase in population, and owing to our colleges having drawn from abroad men of talent and even eminence in their several branches. Though the serial novels it brings out, and its other purely literary articles, may not come up to the standard of the best English magazines, yet, when compared with all similars previous productions, they show that Canadian writers are cultivating a better style than heretofore. It is moreover printed as well as any foreign periodical. The support accorded to it has not as yet made its publication remunerative. If it must share the fate of its predecessors, its stoppage will be only another proof of the lack of a public national feeling among the English-speaking population of the Dominion and any real desire to foster and encourage a native literature.

The French Canadian Reviews, though, perhaps, conducted with more spirit than the English, have not been pecuniarily more successful; and, seeing how small is the circle of readers they address, it cannot well be otherwise.

The Canadian Naturalist, the Canadian Journal, the Antiquarian, and the Transactions of our own and other Societies, as they depend for support on the contributions, literary and pecuniary, of the members of various associations, devoted to literary and scientific pursuits, have continued to be issued, whether the public read them or not.

Of course, the growth in intellectuality of a population as a whole is to be measured rather by the increase in the education of the masses than by the intellectual feats of the few. What this increase really is, however, cannot be determined by the ~~number of schools or the number of scholars~~ but by the

ERRATUM.

For *twenty* in paragraph beginning "Queen's
fifty.

owing to the sectarian character of its administration
causes, till the charter was amended in 1852, and
rd of governors acquired control of the High School
In that year it had 97 students in the three faculties
medicine, and law.

1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.	1860.	1861.
42	47	47	60	58	65
96	90	97	108	124	146
10	30	30	57	47	45
154	167	174	205	229	256

In 1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Arts, 51	46	31	29	41	40	54	54
Med., 146	145	135	148	137	152	129	129
Law, 57	70	71	82	97	111	118	121
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
254	261	287	259	275	303	291	304

Since 1854, the English-speaking of Montreal has increased from about 60,000 to about 120,000 or 100 per cent.; whereas the students in arts have increased only 42 per cent. Fifty-four students in arts is too small a contribution from so large and wealthy a population as Montreal possesses, and from the well-to-do English-speaking population of the Ottawa and Eastern Ontario. Were the advantages of a liberal education appreciated as they ought to be, the number would be vastly greater. Montreal is justly proud of her University, and several Montrealers have expressed their appreciation of its value by very substantial contributions towards its support, (contributions the more necessary, as the aid from the public funds towards its maintenance has always been contemptibly small, especially when compared with the grants accorded to other educational institutions not more deserving of Government patronage), Montrealers, I say, are justly proud of their University and willing to help it with money. but in addition they would do well to send their sons to be educated within its walls.

Queen's College, Kingston, (whose usefulness is perhaps impaired by its denominational character) seldom counts over twenty students in arts, though favoured by the Scotch of Eastern and Central Ontario; who, however, seem out here to value less than the same class does in Scotland a liberal education for their sons.

The University of Toronto, with the advantage of a rich endowment and professors of eminence, attracts 225 students to the faculty of arts.

Nor is the record of the French Universities more favourable. The Laval University, with so large a population to draw from, with the advantage of the Seminary as a source of supply, and though requiring of the students of Theology and Medicine that they have passed the arts course, enrolled last year only 103 students in that faculty.

I think all these considerations make it clear that our intellectual acquirements have not kept pace with the growth in material wealth of our country. Canada has now nearly one-tenth the population of Great Britain, and though I have pointed out good reasons why there should be proportionately less culture and less devotion to literary pursuits here than there, the disproportion is greater than it ought to be; for rapidly there is springing up in Canada a class of wealthy men, who, with their children, enjoy both wealth and leisure. Did they rightly estimate the advantages these bestow, and did they use them for study and for the cultivation of their higher faculties, it would be well for themselves and well for the country. We should then have a class of men educated and well read, from whom we could draw legislators,—men who could judge of what would be good or ill for the country from their knowledge of what has happened in the past and what is transpiring now in the world, and who, from the possession of wealth, would be less likely to be influenced in the formation of their opinions and in their decisions on political subjects, by considerations of pecuniary interest. It would not be well that our legislatures should be filled by men of any one class, but it certainly would be well if there were more men in them of the class I have indicated. Such men, likewise, sensible of the advantage and pleasure they derive from intellectual pursuits, would be eager and active in diffusing their own spirit and sharing their enjoyment with others; and thus through the foundation of public libraries and the endowment of University chairs, and still more through the example of hard, honest, intellectual work, done without the hope of sordid reward, education would be encouraged among the masses.

PAPER II.—CURRENCY, WITH REFERENCE TO CARD MONEY IN CANADA DURING THE FRENCH DOMINATION.

By JAMES STEVENSON, QUEBEC.

“The currency of the world includes many kinds of money. Gold, silver, copper, iron, in coins or by weight, stamped leather, stamped paper, wooden tallies, shells of various kinds, furs, pieces of silk, strips of cotton cloth of a fixed size and quality, are and have been all in use amongst mankind as forms of currency, as convenient and negotiable forms or representatives of property. Many of these kinds of money are simultaneously in use in the same country. Gold, silver, copper and stamped paper coexist in different forms of money in the currency of Europe and America: Gold, silver, copper and shells in India; silver, copper, and pieces of silk in China; copper, cotton strips, shells, and the silver dollar in various parts of Africa. Sparta had a currency of iron, Carthage of stamped leather. There is ample variety out of which money is made: metals, shells, cloth, leather, paper.” This is the statement of a recent writer on the subject of currency. With such an array, one may well enquire—what is money?

Paper money may be said to be of two kinds, viz:—Paper money, and money represented by paper. The former consists of notes upon which government confer the property of money, and which are not necessarily redeemable in specie; while the latter may consist of notes issued by the state or by corporations, and which are redeemable in specie. The former is a mere creation by political power; the last grows out of engagements or commercial operations. The one, being declared legal tender, must be taken in satisfaction of a debt; the other, unless constituted legal tender by the state, may

be taken or refused at the option of a creditor. The present legal tender note of the United States corresponds to the first; the Bank Note of Canada to the last.

It would be a mistake to suppose that representative, emblematic, or paper money is an invention of modern times. The equivalent was used, in negotiable forms or representatives of property, as stamped leather, iron, tin, and stamped paper, in Carthage and Sparta, Rome, China and India, anterior to the Christian Era. The ancients were just as well aware of the unsoundness of an inconvertible currency as we are. They required a currency of intrinsic value, such as gold, silver, or copper money. The pieces of silk, strips of cotton cloth of fixed size and quality, were money of intrinsic value. The shells were also real money; the wampapeay and the couris were coveted for their variety, beauty and polish, and were valued just as we value precious stones: they had in themselves exchangeable power and intrinsic value, as gold and silver have; but the stamped leather, wooden tallies, bits of iron and tin had none, and constituted an unsound currency, having only the properties of money conferred upon them by political power.

The Chinese had a paper money made from the inside portion of the bark of the Mulberry tree. The bark was pounded in a mortar, moistened, spread out into sheets, cut up into small squares, certified by a chief officer of State, and stamped in red with the Imperial seal. Those little squares or cards, signed and sealed, having an authentic character, were issued by the State as money, and circulated throughout the Empire. It was death to counterfeit them, death also to refuse them in satisfaction of a debt, or in payment of goods. Their wise men, however, understood

the holder of such signs: this being the true intention of paper money; but when Government caught at the idea of making it real money, the original intention and true character of the currency were lost."

Every country had its monetary unit, which consisted generally of the principal merchandise or production of the place, estimated by weight, measure, or number. In some countries it was the silk or the cotton; in others the iron or the grain; and, frequently, the sheep and the cattle.

The monetary unit in Russia, in early times, consisted of skins or furs, which circulated as money; but in order to avoid the inconvenience of transferring such bulky articles from one to another, Government conceived the idea of cutting a small piece off each skin, as tokens and representatives of the skins stored away till claimed by the holders of the tokens. In primitive times it was not, however, always safe to entrust property to Governments; and the Government of Russia being in need of currency, found it easy to augment the number of tokens, and circulate them far in excess of the skins they were supposed to represent. When the Mongol Tartars conquered Russia, they would have nothing to say to this curious kind of currency; but insisted upon having the skins, and threw the monetary affairs of the country into confusion.

Some numismatists confiding in a passage in Aristotle, hold that the leather money of the Carthaginians represented skins or hides; and maintain that it was, therefore, a sound or convertible currency: but there is not sufficient evidence to justify any one in arriving at that conclusion.

d the principles of currency,
it carried on the business of
; before the Christian era,
t from that in which it is

conducted now. They appreciated more than other nations a sound currency, preferring one of gold, silver, or copper ; and never resorted to the use of paper or emblematic money, except in times of extreme peril to the State. There is, perhaps, no better definition of money than that given by Aristotle : " Money is a means of exchange or measure of value whereby one description of merchandise is exchanged for another." We have the means of ascertaining the weight, dimensions and bulk of a body, substance or object ; we want also to ascertain its value. What the pound weight and the standard measure perform in respect of the former, that money does in regard to the latter : it measures its value : being, " the intermediate commodity interposed between what we have to sell, and what we wish to buy ; establishing the value of each by the quantity of this interposed commodity which is given or taken in exchange."

In an article on Old Colonial Currencies, by Mr. S. E. Dawson, of Montreal, we learn, " that in America, within a comparatively short period, every conceivable form of currency has been tried. The accounts of New Netherlands (now New York State,) were, in 1662, kept in wampum and Beaver skins. That currency does not appear to have been more suitable than others ; for in that year complaints were made of its increasing depreciation, and the Chamber of Commerce at Amsterdam credited all the Colonial officials with twenty-five per cent. additional salary in beaver skins to cover their loss, a precedent too seldom followed in later and more progressive times."

Parkman in " The Old Régime in Canada," tells us that, " In the absence of coin, beaver skins long served as currency in Canada. In 1669, the Council declared wheat a legal tender, at four francs the minot ; and five years later, all creditors were ordered to receive Moose-skins in payment at the market rate."

During the period of the early settlement in Canada, the coins in circulation were of the reigns of Henri IV., Lewis XIII. and XIV., with the exception of three pieces struck specially for the colony.

Leblanc in his treatise on money, page 388, alludes to these coins :

“ Afin de faciliter le commerce dans le Canada, le Roy fit fabriquer pour cent mille livres de Louis de 15 sols de 5 sols; et des doubles de cuivre pur. Ces monnaies étaient de même cours, poids et loi que celles de France. Sur les Louis d'argent de 15 sols et de 5 sols, au lieu de *Sit nomen domini benedictum* il y avait *gloriam regni tui dicent*, et sur les doubles : *Doubles de L'Amérique Française*.

Description de la pièce de 15 sols :

LVD. XIII. D. G. * FR. ET NAV. REX. Buste juvenile de Louis XIV. à droite, tête laurée, perruque longue et bouclée. Le buste drapé par dessus la cuirasse.

“ R^{ég} : GLORIAM REGNI TVI DIGENT, 1670. Ecu au 3 fleurs de lys surmonté de la couronne royale.

“ Module 27 millimètres.

“ Pièce de 5 sols semblable à la précédente.

“ Module 21 millimètres.”

And in reference to the other coins of the same reign, we find in “ Le Dictionnaire de Numismatique, publié par M. L'abbé Migné, Paris,” as follows :

“ On fabriqua au commencement du règne de Louis XIV. les mêmes espèces d'or, d'argent, de billon et de cuivre, que sous le règne précédent, savoir : des louis d'or, des demis et des doubles louis d'or, des écus d'or et des demis ; des louis d'argent de 60, de 30, de 15 et de 5 sous ; des deniers et doubles deniers de cuivre purs. Toutes ces monnaies étaient de même poids, titre, loi et valeur que sous le règne précédent.”

The Livre Tournois was the integer or money of account in Canada, but it was not known in Canada or even in France during that period as a coin. There was however once a coin called Tournois : " Petite monnaie bordée de fleurs de lis qui tirait son nom de la ville de Tours où elle était frappée. Il y avait des livres Tournois, des sols Tournois, des petits Tournois. Ce n'est plus qu'une désignation d'une somme de compte."

The Livre Parisis was also a money of account, but I have not found it alluded to in any old Deeds of sale in Canada. Sales were invariably made during the period of early settlement for sums stated in Livres Tournois. The Livre Parisis, however, is thus referred to in the Dictionnaire de Numismatique.

" Parisis, en terme de compte, est l'addition de la quatrième partie de la somme au total de la somme ; ainsi le Parisis de 16 sols, est quatre sols ; quatre sols Parisis font 5 sols : c'est aujourd'hui une monnaie de compte qui autrefois était monnaie réelle, qui se fabriquait à Paris, en même temps que le Tournois se fabriquait à Tours. Ces Parisis étaient d'un quart plus forts que les Tournois, en sorte que la livre Parisis était de 25 sols et la livre Tournois de 20 sols." And d'Abot de Bazinghem "Traité de Monnaies," under the word Tournois, writes :

" On s'est servi en France dans les contrats des monnaies Tournois et Parisis jusque sous le règne de Louis XIV, où la monnaie Parisis a été abolie. On ne se sert plus dans les comptes que de la monnaie Tournois. Il faudra donc à partir de Louis XIV entendre le mot livre comme Livre Tournois."

" La livre Tournois était représenté par des monnaies qui n'ont jamais variées sous le rapport du titre qui était de 11 deniers argent fin (917,00) mais qui ont subi des variations fréquentes, sous le rapport de la valeur."

“ Ainsi pour en citer un exemple ; l’émission de Décembre, 1689 : Louis d’argent à 11 deniers de fin—de $8\frac{1}{2}$ au marc, (poids 27 gr. 427) *LVD. XIII. D. G. * FR. ET NAV. REX.* Tête virile à droite, perruque ample retombant en boucles sur les épaules drapées. Sous le buste : 1689.

“ R₇.—CHRS. REGN. VINC. IMP. Croix de 4 doubles L. adollés et couronnées, avec 4 fleurs de lys dans les angles ; au centre la lettre monétaire. Ce Louis d’argent fut émis d’abord pour 66 sols puis pour 65, Juillet 1692.

64 Décembre 1692.

63 1 Juin 1693.

62 Août 1693.

d’autres fabrications eurent lieu en 1701-1705.”

In the eighteenth century the écu of 6 livres went into circulation in Canada, viz. : in the last years of the reign of Louis XV.

“ Ces écus étaient à 11 deniers de fin, de poids de 29 gr. 49.

“ Description du dernier écu par Louis XV :

“ *LVD. XV. D.G. FR.—ET NAV. REX.* Effigée, tournée à gauche et laurée—buste drapé.

“ R₇.—SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM. ; Ecu ovale au 3 fleurs de lys, entouré de branches de laurier.

“ Divisions de l’écu : petit ecu, pièce de 24 sols, de 12 sols, de 6 sols.”

As I intend to confine myself to the subject of card or paper money, I shall not refer further to the coins which constituted to a limited extent, the currency of Canada during the French Régime. I have described a few only, which did service and circulated among the early settlers ; but, card money prevailed as currency, in the ordinary transactions of life in the colony.

While we rise pleased from the perusal of the history of the Bank Note of Scotland, convinced of the soundness of the system under which it issues, of the good service it renders, and of its title to existence: its little counterpart, "the card," in Canada, born, prematurely, about the same time, in an infant colony of France, has to be pathologically considered, and followed through various stages of disease, till death puts an end to its existence; but not to the mischief inflicted upon those among whom it circulated, and who put faith in its virtue.

Card money was issued in Canada by the Intendant Meales in 1685. He informs the minister, "I have no money to pay the soldiers, and not knowing to what Saint to make my vows, the idea occurred to me of putting in circulation notes made of cards, each cut into four pieces; and I have issued an ordinance commanding the inhabitants to receive them in payment. The cards were common playing cards, and each piece was stamped with the fleur-de-lis and a crown, and signed by the Governor, the intendant, and the clerk of the Treasury at Quebec." (1) They were convertible into Bills of Exchange at a specified period. Other cards, domiciled in France, appear to have issued afterwards, payable to bearer on demand, which circulated freely to the extent of the currency required in the colony; the rest were remitted to France or converted into Bills of Exchange. Subsequently card money, not domiciled in France, but, confined to the colony, was issued. Each card bore the name and coat-of-arms of the Intendant, the nominal value of the card, and the date of issue; also the signature and seal of the Governor as security against forgery. There were cards of the denominations, 32 livres, 16 livres, 4 livres, 40 and 20 sols. This new issue did not take well at

(1) Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 300.

Meales au Ministre, 24 Sept., 1685.

first in the colony; the old, payable in France, being preferred. It was customary for the holders of card money to exchange it in autumn with the Treasurer at Quebec, for Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Treasury; and it was taken for granted that, the old issue would have a preference over the new. But the policy of the Treasurer was the very opposite of this; he demurred to the old, and readily issued Bills of Exchange for the new. The effect of this proceeding was, to establish the credit and currency of the new notes, which were thenceforth taken in preference to the old issue.

During a period of nearly thirty years the card money circulated, and served as currency in the ordinary transactions of life in the colony, and was considered safe to take in satisfaction of a debt; because, if not convertible into coin in Canada at the will of the holder, it was redeemed in Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Treasury, which constituted an excellent remittance for the colonists who had to meet their engagements in France. But trying times were in store for Canada: the Imperial Treasury, drained by the extravagance and costly wars of Louis the XIV., became unequal to the heavy demands made upon it; and the drafts drawn by the Colonial Government, being consequently dishonored, the financial affairs of the colony were thrown into a hopeless state of confusion. The card money rapidly depreciated in value. Treasury bills, formerly so much valued, were sold in France at a heavy discount; others were returned to the colony dishonored and under protest. Appeals were made in vain to the Colonial authorities for settlement. There was none to be had—no relief anywhere.

In 1714 the amount of card money in the hands of the colonists appears to have reached the sum of two million.⁽¹⁾ The population of Canada was then about twenty thousand,

(1) Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 300.

of which probably six thousand were settled in Quebec, and two thousand in Montreal. Considering the condition of the colony, the amount of currency floating should not, under the circumstances, have exceeded one million. Being in excess, depreciation followed as a matter of course; and Government, being pressed for settlements, compromised, from time to time, with the holders of the currency, by payment of one half its nominal value.

Finally in 1717, a decree, after citing the settlements referred to, and deploring the inconvenience of card money, announces the intention of Government to withdraw it entirely from circulation, and to redeem it within a certain period, at a reduction of value. At the same time a new issue, current at the reduced value, was made to meet the immediate requirements of the Treasurer, redeemable on the same terms and conditions as the old.

The decree referred to, provides that all card money shall be current in the colony at one-half of its nominal value, viz; A card of four livres for two (equal to one livre ten sols money of France): the total reduction being five-eighths of the original value.(1) Subsequently this decree was modified by another to meet the case of certain debtors, who would otherwise have had to pay twice as much as they really owed.(2.) But in the main it was adhered to.

The terms of settlement, or redemption, were as follows; the Treasurer is instructed to retire the card money before the ships leave in November for France; and holders will then be paid one-third of the reduced value in Bills of Exchange on France, maturing 1st March, 1718; one-third, 1st March, 1719; and the balance, 1st March, 1720. All card money presented for settlement, after the ships leave in 1718, will be redeemed at the reduced value: one-half in bills

(1) Edits and Ord., p. 370.

(2) do. 393,

payable 1st March, 1719; the remaining half, 1st March, 1720; but all cards outstanding, after the ships shall have left in 1718, will be considered cancelled and valueless. A more mistaken policy, or a more unjust proceeding on the part of the Home Government than this, can scarcely be conceived. Government had had the experience of more than a quarter of a century to guide them in the issue of card money. A little reflection should have shown that, the amount of over issue, only, required to be redeemed. The remedy was simple: if one million livres of cards had been withdrawn, the rest would have kept out, and circulated to the great convenience of the community; and no one would have suffered any loss. As to the new issue for current expenses, redeemable at three-eighths of its nominal value—not a sol was saved; for it exchanged for that only, and no more.

The missionary spirit, in which the settlement of Canada was undertaken, continued to maintain and manifest itself among the clergy and many of the laity. Bold spirits such as La Salle and de Tonty, devoted their lives to discovery, and to the establishment of new colonies in the great west. The rest remained behind to trade with the Indians and with each other.

It was difficult to get the colonists to apply themselves steadily to agriculture. "In vain the government sent out seeds for distribution. In vain intendants lectured the farmers and lavished well meant advice. Tillage remained careless and slovenly."(1) The spirit of dogged industry was wanting. In the pursuit of trade they hoped to attain to wealth and independence by a shorter route, and with less labour; but the false financial system followed in the mother country, as well as in the colony, doomed them to disappointment and frustrated their hopes.

(1) Parkman.

Next to an impartial administration of Justice, the most important object to a people is a safe and secure currency. This maxim was, however, disregarded in France, where the wildest ideas upon currency prevailed. The schemes of Law, introduced under the Regent Duke of Orleans about this time, proved a complete failure ; and France, if not covered with ruin, was plunged into a state of extreme financial confusion.

In Canada the Régime of card money was, for a time at any rate, at an end ; but the specie in the colony was quite inadequate to supply its place, and meet the wants of the community in the ordinary business of exchange between man and man. There was much groping in the dark in relation to currency questions, and we have consequently :

A Decree reducing the value of gold coins, dated May 7, 1719.

A Decree increasing the value of gold and silver coins and reducing the price of commodities, 24th October, 1720.

A Decree suspending the operation of the above, 26th December, 1720.

A Decree concerning copper money, 30th April, 1721.

A Decree concerning specie, 4th February, 1724; March 27th, 1724; September, 1724, and 22nd September, 1724.

In January, 1726, a decree ordering "la fabrication de nouvelles espèces d'or et d'argent."

May 26th, 1726, a decree augmenting the value of specie, currency, &c.

Trade languished, and a return to the use of paper money appeared to be the only remedy. Representations were made accordingly ; and Government, yielding to the wishes of the people, resumed the issue of card money, with little more light on the subject of currency, than they had in the

previous century. So the "card" revived on the 2nd of March, 1729; and its restoration was announced in the following :

" Ordonnance du Roi au sujet de la Monnaie de Carte.

" DE PAR LE ROI.

" Sa Majesté s'étant fait rendre compte de la situation où se trouve la colonie de Canada depuis l'extinction de la monnaie de carte, et étant informée que les espèces d'or et d'argent qu'elle y a fait passer depuis dix années pour les dépenses du pays ont repassé successivement chaque année en France, ce qui en cause l'anéantissement du commerce intérieur de la colonie, empêche l'accroissement de ses établissements, rend plus difficile aux marchands le débit en détail de leurs marchandises et denrées; et par une suite nécessaire fait tomber le commerce extérieur qui ne peut se soutenir que par les consommations que produit le détail; Sa Majesté s'est fait proposer les moyens les plus propres pour remédier à des inconvénients qui ne sont pas moins intéressans pour le commerce du royaume que pour ses sujets de la Nouvelle-France; dans la discussion de tous ces moyens aucun n'a paru plus convenable que celui de l'établissement d'une monnaie de carte qui sera reçu dans les magasins de Sa Majesté en payment de la poudre et autres munitions et marchandises qui y seront vendues et pour laquelle il sera délivré des lettres de change sur le trésorier-général de la marine en exercice; elle s'y est d'autant plus volontiers déterminée qu'elle n'a fait en cela que répondre aux désirs des négocians du Canada, lesquels ont l'année dernière présenté à cet effet une requête au gouverneur et lieutenant-général et au commissaire-ordonnateur en la Nouvelle-France, et aussi aux demandes des habitans en général qui ont fait les mêmes représentations, et que cette monnaie sera d'une grande utilité au commerce intérieur et extérieur par la facilité qu'il y aura dans les

achats et dans les ventes qui se feront dans la colonie dont elle augmentera les établissements; et Sa Majesté voulant expliquer sur ce ses intentions, elle a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit :

“ ARTICLE I.—Il sera fabriqué pour la somme de quatre cent mille livres de monnaies de carte de vingt-quatre livres, de douze livres, de six livres, de trois livres, d’une livre dix sols; de quinze sols et de sept sols six deniers, lesquelles cartes seront empreintes des armes de Sa Majesté, et écrites et signées par le contrôleur de la marine à Québec.

“ II. Les cartes de vingt-quatre livres, de douze livres, de six livres et de trois livres seront aussi signées par le gouverneur, lieutenant-général, et par l’intendant ou commissaire-ordonnateur.

“ III. Celles d’une livre dix sols, de quinze et de sept sols six deniers, seront seulement paraphées par le gouverneur, lieutenant général et l’intendant ou commissaire-ordonnateur.

“ IV. La fabrication des dites quatre cent mille livres de monnaie de carte pourra être faite en plusieurs fois différentes, et il sera dressé pour chaque fabrication quatre procès-verbaux dont un sera remis au gouverneur, lieutenant-général, un autre à l’intendant ou commissaire ordonnateur, le troisième sera déposé et enregistré au bureau du contrôle, et le quatrième envoyé au secrétaire d’état ayant le département de la marine.

“ V. Défend Sa Majesté au dit gouverneur, lieutenant-général, intendant ou commissaire-ordonnateur et au contrôleur d’en écrire, signer et parapher pour une somme plus forte que celle de quatre cent mille livres, et à toutes personnes de la contrefaire, à peine d’être poursuivies comme faux monnoyeurs et punies comme tels.

“ VI. Veut sa Majesté que la monnaie de carte faite en exécution de la présente ordonnance ait cours dans la colonie pour la valeur écrite sur icelle et qu’elle soit reçue par les

gardes-magasins établis dans la colonie en payement de la poudre, munitions et marchandises qui seront vendues des magasins de Sa Majesté, par le trésorier pour le payement des lettres de change qu'il tirera sur les trésoriers-généraux de la marine, chacun dans l'année de son exercice, et dans tous les payemens généralement quelconques qui se feront dans la colonie de quelque espèce et de quelque nature qu'ils puissent être.

“ Mande et ordonne Sa Majesté au sieur marquis de Beauharnois, gouverneur et lieutenant-général de la Nouvelle-France, et au sieur Hocquart, commissaire-ordonnateur, faisant les fonctions d'intendant au dit pays, de tenir la main à l'exécution de la présente ordonnance, laquelle sera enregistrée au contrôle de la marine à Québec.

“ Fait à Marly, le deuxième mars, mil sept cent vingt-neuf.

“ Signé : LOUIS.

“ Et plus bas,

“ Signé : PHELYPEAUX.

“ Et scellée du petit sceau.”

I have copied the ordinance *verbatim*, because an attentive perusal will give a far better idea of the then state of commercial and financial affairs in the colony, than I could possibly hope to convey, by any remarks of my own. In the absence of specie, some such measure as the foregoing seemed necessary. The people could not return to a currency of Beaver and Moose skins, because they were wanted for exportation; and the wheat, which was legal tender at 4 francs per minot, was required to maintain human life in the colony. Considerable exchangeable power was, however, conferred upon the cards:—first, by the limitation of their issue; and then by the provisions in the measure for their convertibility into goods, and also into Bills of Exchange on the Imperial Treasury. The colonists were temporarily released from a dead lock, caused by the paucity, or absence, of currency, so indispensable to a trading community.

The new issue of card money did not vary much in appearance from the cards called in, and settled for by compromise. Several specimens are in the possession of my friend Mr. Cyrille Tessier, Notary, a proficient numismatist, of Quebec. They are square pieces of card, having the corners clipped off, about half the size of a common playing card, and of the same thickness. The fractional card money is of the same material, but smaller in size. The accompanying illustrations, copied from originals in the possession of Mr. Tessier, will show better than any description could do, the character of this card money. As shown on plate I, the large card-money bears at the top the arms of France and Navarre, stamped between the signature of the clerk of the Treasury *Varin*, and the year of issue 1742, followed by the statement of its value : *Pour la somme de douze livres*. After which follows the signature of the Governor *Beauharnois*, and that of the Intendant *Hocquart*.

The small card-money has the same impress of the arms of France and Navarre, with the attesting signature "*Varin*," and year of issue, which in the example here produced is 1752. The initial at foot "*B*" is that of the Intendant *Bigot*.

Four hundred thousand livres (or francs), issued under authority of the Ordinance of 2nd March, was a small amount for a population of thirty or forty thousand. All things considered, four times four hundred thousand would have floated on that population ; and this amount might have issued without any violation of the principles of currency ; but four hundred thousand livres was not enough for the ordinary purposes of exchange, and, consequently, a second issue was authorized on the 12th May, 1733, viz. :

*" Autre Ordonnance du Roi au sujet de la Monnoie de Carte,
du 12e. mai, mil sept cent trente-trois.*

" DE PAR LE ROI.

" Sa Majesté ayant, par son ordonnance du deux du mois de mars, mil sept cent vingt-neuf, et pour les raisons y

contenues, ordonné qu'il seroit fabriqué en Canada pour la somme de quatre cent mille livres de monnaie de carte de vingt-quatre livres, de douze livres, de six livres, de trois livres, de trente sols, de quinze sols, et de sept sols six deniers, elle auroit eu la satisfaction d'apprendre que l'établissement de cette monnaie qui avoit été désiré de tous les états de la colonie y avoit en effet produit d'abord les avantages qu'on en avoit attendu ; mais Sa Majesté s'étant fait rendre compte des représentations qui ont été faites l'année dernière tant par les gouverneurs et lieutenant-général et l'intendant que par les négocians du pays, sur l'état actuel de la colonie, elle auroit reconnu que la dite somme de quatre cent mille livres n'est point suffisante pour les différentes opérations du commerce intérieur et extérieur, soit par le défaut de circulation de partie de cette monnaie que gardent les gens aisés du pays sur le juste crédit qu'elle a, soit parce que la colonie devient de jour en jour susceptible d'un commerce plus considérable, elle auroit jugé nécessaire pour le bien du pays en général et pour l'avantage du commerce en particulier d'ordonner une nouvelle fabrication de monnaie de carte, et elle s'y seroit d'autant plus volontiers déterminé qu'elle répondra encore par-là aux désirs de tous les états de la colonie, à quoi voulant pourvoir, Sa Majesté a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit :

“ ARTICLE I.—Outre les quatre cent mille livres de monnaie de carte fabriquées en exécution de l'ordonnance de Sa Majesté du deux de mars, mil sept cent vingt-neuf, lesquelles continueront d'avoir cours en Canada conformément à la dite ordonnance, il sera fabriqué pour la somme de deux cent mille livres de cette monnaie en cartes de vingt-quatre livres, de douze livres, de six livres, de trois livres, de trente sols, de quinze sols et de sept sols six deniers, lesquelles cartes seront empreintes des armes de Sa Majesté, et écrites et signées par le contrôleur de la marine à Québec.”

ART. II, III, IV. and V. are a mere repetition of II, III, IV., V. and VI. of the former ordinance.

It is interesting to read the preceding preamble. Light is breaking in on the subject. We see signs of caution, and an honest intention on the part of Government, to give and maintain a safe serviceable, though not immediately convertible currency. The experiment broke down, however, as we shall see presently, owing to the unprincipled proceedings of the Intendant; and government drifted into a system of reckless and unrestricted over-issue, resulting in dishonor and disaster to all concerned. With a sound system of currency and finance—very different from the present, might have been the fate of Canada. There was no lack of military ardour and soldierly qualities on the part of the French; but the woful mismanagement of financial affairs and maladministration of the colony, had a telling effect upon the spirits of the people, and contributed probably not a little to the loss of Canada to France.

An unfortunate concession had been made by Government to their ill-paid officials. All were permitted to engage in trade—from the lowest to the highest functionary. The grossest abuses were the result. Officials appear to have been in league with leading merchants to extort exorbitant prices from Government and from the settlers to whom they sold goods.(1) The privilege of trading, in connection with the issue of paper money, sometimes by the same hands, opened wide the door to every kind of abuse; and the highest functionaries were accused of enriching themselves by unworthy means.

The new issues being insufficient for the wants of the community, more might have been authorized under proper restrictions, with perfect safety. But the Intendant took the matter into his own hands, and of his own mere motion put out a separate issue of paper money which he called "ordonnances" to which no limit was assigned. The

(1) Garneau, p. 290, vol. II., referring to official despatches on the subject.

Livres

valeur en la soumission du Trésorier, restée au bureau du contrôle.

^{Montreal}
A Québec, le 17. 2. 1759

[Signature]

“ordonnances” were simply Promissory Notes. The lowest denomination was 20 sols, the highest 100 livres. They were printed on common paper about half the size of a sheet of ordinary note paper, as shown in the accompanying fac-simile, plate II, of a note for ninety-six livres, issued at Montreal (for Quebec) in 1759. At the top, the year, then the words “*Dépenses Générales*,” the number, followed by the obligation : “*Il sera tenu compte par le Roi au mois d’Octobre prochain de la somme de quatre-vingt seize livres, valeur en la soumission du Trésorier restée au bureau de contrôle.*” Under this, the date, and signature of Intendant Bigot.

Both cards and ordonnances were in use as currency and circulated simultaneously in the colony. The cards were, however, preferred, being considered a privileged or prior claim on the Treasury. Before the close of navigation, each year, in the month of October, those who required Bills on France for remittance, obtained them at the local Treasury, in exchange for cards and ordonnances; but cards were settled for first, because the redemption of the ordonnances was contingent upon the state of the credit of the colony. If the annual expenditure exceeded the sum authorized to be drawn for, the ordonnances, instead of being redeemed by Bills of Exchange, were exchanged for bonds, payable twelve months after date, in card money—an arrangement which was termed “*faisant la réduction.*” In 1754 both cards and ordonnances were settled for on equal terms, viz. : by Bills of Exchange payable partly in 1754, partly in 1755, and partly in 1756. In that year 1,300,000 livres of specie arrived from France, and the people thought that Government intended to discontinue the issue of paper money. Specie was then current at the proportionate value of 6 livres silver to 8 livres paper, and Government endeavored to establish that premium on silver, as a permanent par. Increased issues of paper money were made nevertheless; and as a matter of course the experiment failed, and paper fell, in spite of the

Government, to 60 and 70 per cent. discount. The paper money now afloat, chiefly ordonnances, became completely discredited. "Le papier qui nous reste," writes M. de Levis to the Minister, "est entièrement décrédité, et tous les habitans sont dans le désespoir. Ils ont tout sacrifié pour la conservation du Canada. Ils se trouvent actuellement ruinés, sans ressources."(1)

In 1758-9, the death blow was given to the system in Canada, by the dishonor of the Treasury bills, and the refusal of the Imperial Government to allow of any more drafts on the Treasury, until an enquiry had been made into the cause and extent of the excessive issues of paper money. Prior to the peace, but after all hope of keeping Canada had fled, the Governor Vaudreuil and Intendant Bigot, issued a circular to the people, stating that, they were instructed by His Majesty the King, to say that, circumstances compelled him to refuse payment of the Bills drawn on the Treasury; but that those drawn in 1757 and '58, now overdue, would be liquidated three months after the conclusion of peace; and that interest would be allowed from the date of maturity—that those of 1759 would be liquidated eighteen months after peace. The Governor and Intendant were further charged to assure the people of Canada that, the state of the Imperial Treasury, alone, compelled the King to act in this manner towards those who had given such signal proofs of their fidelity and attachment. They would wait patiently, he hoped, for a settlement of their claims. Those fair promises were never fulfilled.

Mr. Garneau, quoting from Raynal, says: "Under this monetary system Canada was deprived of all real security. Coined money has intrinsic value, paper money has none. It is only a sign and depending upon the contingency of redemption. The expenses rose rapidly. From 1,700,000 livres in 1749 they

(1) Garneau, page 355, vol. II.

rose successively from year to year to 2,100,000, 2,700,000, 4,900,000, 5,900,000, 5,300,000, 4,450,000, 6,100,000, 11,900,000, 19,250,000, 27,900,000, 26,000,000 fr.; and for the eight first months of 1760 to 13,500,000, in all exceeding 123 million. Of this sum," says M. Garneau, "the state owed 80 million—41 of which, to Canadian creditors, consisting of 34 million in Ordonnances, and 7 million in Bills of Exchange. This large amount of State obligations held by Canadians—large for such a country, proved almost valueless to the holders. Merchants and officers of the British army," says M. Garneau, "bought up, at 'vil prix,' a portion of these claims, and resold them, through French factors or brokers on London Exchange for cash. Through personal influences, a stipulation was secured in the treaty of 1763 for compensation of 3,600,000 francs in settlement of a moiety of the Bills, and three-fourths of the ordonnances; but while the Canadians suffered by the reduction an immediate loss of 29 million on their holding, the merchants and officers, alone, derived whatever profit was to be reaped from the indemnification."

With respect to the alleged gains by British officers: the statement is simply incredible. We can believe that:

"Grim visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front;
And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries;
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute."

But M. Garneau makes large demands upon our credulity when he asks us to believe that Mars took to stock-jobbing and trafficking in repudiated paper money. He must surely have penned that passage in an exceptional mood of mind; or, perhaps, under the influence of Anglophobia.

After the capitulation of Quebec, the British authorities paid for all labour, and every commodity, in specie—chiefly in Mexican Dollars. Perhaps the new subjects, as the

Canadians were then called, became reconciled to a change of allegiance which, thenceforth, secured to them the full satisfaction of every just pecuniary claim.

In preparing the foregoing story of the card money of Canada, I am indebted to Sir N. F. Belleau, Knt., Mr. S. E. Dawson of Montreal, the Prothonotary Mr. Fiset, Mr. C. Tessier and Mr. M. LeMoine of Quebec, for pointing out to me various sources of information, from which I have drawn. And to Dr. H. H. Miles, author of the "History of Canada," for enabling me to conclude this paper with the copy of an important historical document, which provides for the final settlement of all outstanding paper—whether cards, ordonances, or bills of exchange.

29TH MARCH, 1766.

COVENTION, FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CANADA PAPER MONEY BELONGING TO THE SUBJECTS OF GREAT BRITAIN, BETWEEN THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING.

In order to terminate the discussions, which have too long subsisted in regard to the liquidation of this paper, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, the two courts have named and appointed their respective Ministers Plenipotentiary, viz :

His Brittanic Majesty, the Sieur Henry Seymour Conway, Lieutenant-General of his armies, and one of his principal secretaries of state, likewise authorized to the same effect by the proprietors of the said Canada paper; and His Most Christian Majesty, the Sieur Count de Guerchy, Knight of his orders, Lieutenant-General of his armies, Colonel Commandant of his regiment of foot, and his Ambassador to His Brittanic Majesty; who after having communicated their full powers

and authorizations in due form, to each other, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present Convention, have agreed to the following articles :

ARTICLE 1ST.

His Excellency General Conway, invested with the above mentioned full powers and authorizations, accepts, for the British proprietors or holders of the Canada paper, and in their names, the reduction of the said paper, on the footing of fifty per centum for the Bills of Exchange, and such part of the certificates as are entitled to the said payments and of seventy-five per centum, for ordonnances cards and the remaining part of the certificates, and to receive for the fifty and twenty-five per centum of the reduced principal, reconnoissances or rent-contracts, which shall bear an annual interest from the 1st day of January, 1765, of four and one-half per centum, to be subjected to the Dixième from the said 1st day of January, 1765, in as many reconnoissances as it shall suit the holders to divide their liquidated principals into: provided that each reconnoissance shall not be for more than one Thousand Livres Tournois; which reconnoissances shall share the same fate for their reimbursement, as the other debts of the state, and shall not be subjected to any reduction whatsoever: the whole conformably to the arrêts of the Council issued in France the 29th of June, 2nd July, 1764; 29th and 31st December, 1765.

ARTICLE 2ND.

In order to ascertain the British property of this paper, at the period, and according to the meaning of the Declaration annexed to the last treaty of peace with France, each proprietor or holder shall be obliged to make a declaration thereof upon oath, in the form and terms which shall be hereafter prescribed in consequence of a further delay, which his Most Christian Majesty grants them, to the 1st of October, 1766: after the expiration of which, such of the said papers, as shall not have been declared and tendered to be liquidated, shall remain excluded, null, and of no value.

ARTICLE 3RD.

These declarations on the part of the proprietors and holders of this paper shall be accompanied by an oath to be taken before the Lord Mayor of the City of London, or such other magistrate in person as shall be named for that purpose, in such place and at such times as shall be specified in the presence of the commissaries or deputies appointed as well on the part of the Court of France as on the part of the proprietors of this paper; which commissaries or deputies shall be allowed to ask through the magistrate who administers the oath, such questions of the deponent, as they shall judge necessary relative to the object of the oath.

4TH ARTICLE.

Each declaration shall contain only what belongs to one holder, whether they are his own property, or held by him for account of others, mentioning therein his name, quality, and place of abode; and this declaration shall be made conformable to the model annexed to the present convention.

5TH ARTICLE.

Duplicates shall be made of these declarations, certified to be true, signed by the holders of the said papers, and previously delivered to the English and French commissaries or deputies, who shall be obliged, three days after receiving these declarations, to assist at the taking of the oath before the magistrate appointed for that purpose.

6TH ARTICLE.

As this paper may, since the last treaty of peace, have passed into the hands of three different classes of proprietors; namely, the actual proprietors, the intermediate, and the original; the form of an oath suitable to each class of proprietors shall be prescribed in the three following articles.

7TH ARTICLE.

The actual proprietors, who are not original proprietors, having been intermediate purchasers, with a guarantee of the British property, shall take the following oath underneath the declaration of their paper.

“ I affirm and solemnly swear on
 “ the Holy Evangelists, that the papers mentioned in the
 “ foregoing declaration are the same (or part of the same) that
 “ I purchased of B the with a
 “ guarantee of their being British property ; and that I hold
 “ them on my own account (or on account of)
 “ so help me God.”

8TH ARTICLE.

The intermediate proprietors, who have been purchasers and sellers, with a guarantee of their property being British, shall take, by endorsement on their declaration an oath in the following form :

“ I affirm and solemnly swear on
 “ the Holy Evangelists, that I did purchase of C
 “ on the day of sundry
 “ Canada papers, amounting to : and
 “ that I did sell the same, or of the
 “ same, to D which was guaranteed to, and by
 “ me, to be British property, so help me God.”

This oath to be repeated by each intermediate purchaser, back to the person, who brought them, or received them, from Canada.

9TH ARTICLE.

The Canada proprietors, or those who represent them in London, being the actual possessors, or no longer so, shall take the following oath, with the modifications expressed, suitable to the different circumstances, under which they may find themselves :

“ I affirm and solemnly swear on
 “ the Holy Evangelists, that the papers mentioned in the
 “ foregoing declaration :

(If the property of a Canadian) “ are my own property,
 “ having had them in my possession at the date of the last
 “ treaty of peace (or having bought them in Canada, from
 “ whence I brought them.”)

(If in possession of a British Representative of a Canadian subject) "are my own property, having bought them (or received them) from Canadian subjects."

(If not in his possession) "were my own property, having bought them (or received them) from Canadian subjects; and that I sold the same (or part of the same) to the"

(If these papers came from France or elsewhere, being the property of Canadian or British subjects) "were sent to me from France, or elsewhere, on account of as British property."

(If sold) "and that I sold the same (or part of the same) to the"

(Foreigners, who shall have sent them to England, shall take the same oath as the intermediate proprietors, as expressed in the 8th Article, preceding.)

(Foreigners who shall have received them from Canada or Great Britain.)

"I affirm and solemnly swear on the Holy Evangelists, that at the date of the last treaty of peace, I held in trust, or that since that date I have received from in Canada (or in Great Britain) sundry Canada papers, amounting to on the proper account of an actual British Canadian Subject; and that I have sold (delivered) (or sent) the same (or part of the same) to as British property."

On these different oaths being judicially and legally made the respective commissaries shall be obliged to grant to the holders of the papers, that shall have come from France (or elsewhere) a certificate of their being British property as well as to the holders, who shall have received them directly from Canada.

(If the papers have been brought from Canada, on account of any other than the person who sent them) "have been sent

“ to me directly by of in
 “ Canada, who purchased them from British Canadian
 “ Subjects, upon commission for account of
 of ”

(Lastly, if the papers are for account of Canadians and
 transmitted by them.) “ That I received from
 “ of in Canada and for his account.”

(All indifferently are to add.)

“ I further swear that the said papers were neither
 “ purchased, nor have been negotiated in France, as French
 “ property, nor acquired directly or indirectly from natives of
 “ France, who were the proprietors of them at the date of the
 “ last treaty of peace, and that no part of these papers were
 “ carried from Europe to Canada, in order to give French
 “ property the sanction of British property, which I affirm and
 “ solemnly swear, so help me God.”

10TH ARTICLE.

Nevertheless, in case the actual proprietors or holders
 produce Borderaux in good form, registered heretofore in
 Canada in consequence of the orders of the English Governors
 or declared in France as British property, and not liquidated
 within the time (for those declared in France) that the Registers
 for the Declaration, were opened for the French, it shall be
 sufficient, that the proprietors or holders, so circumstanced,
 take the following oath :—

“ I affirm and solemnly swear on the
 “ Holy Evangelists, that the papers, mentioned in my
 “ foregoing declaration, have been registered in Canada (or
 “ in France) conformably to the annexed Borderaux, which
 “ I certify to be true, so help me God.”

11TH ARTICLE.

After the administration of the oaths, there shall within the
 space of three days, be delivered, to each actual proprietor
 or Holder, a certificate of its being British property, by the
 magistrate who administers the oaths ; which certificate shall
 be revised and signed by the respective commissaries or

deputies and shall contain an account of each sort of paper, which shall have been therein proved British property; in order, that by means of this voucher, the possessor may present his paper to the office of the Commission at Paris, there to be examined, revised, liquidated, and converted into reconnoissances or rent-contracts, according to the reduction fixed and agreed upon: Every thing shall meet with all possible despatch, and the holders of this paper shall be at no expense whatsoever.

12TH ARTICLE.

In case any unforeseen accident shall have deprived any actual proprietor of this paper of an intermediate proof between him and the first proprietor who received it from Canada, so as that the proofs which precede and follow that which ought to join them, and which is missing, seem to have report, and belong to each other; in that case only the respective commissaries or deputies shall be empowered to admit the paper, it relates to, as British property, if they think proper, notwithstanding the deficiency, which shall have broken the link of the proof: and if the respective commissaries or deputies should chance to differ in opinion, the decision of the object in question shall be referred to his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of state, and the Ambassador of His Most Christian Majesty.

13TH ARTICLE.

In virtue of the foregoing arrangement, the Court of France grants to the British proprietors of this paper an indemnification or *premium* of three millions of Livres Tournois, payable in the following manner, viz.:—The sum of five hundred thousand Livres Tournois, which shall be paid in specie to his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, in the course of the month of April next, and the sum of two millions five hundred thousand Livres Tournois in reconnoissances or rent-contracts, of the same nature of those which shall be given for the fifty and twenty-five per centum on the certificates of the Bills of Exchange, Cards,

Ordonnances, &c. ; but the interest of which shall only run from the 1st of January, 1766. Which sum of two millions and a half of Livres Tournois shall be delivered to the aforesaid Ambassador immediately after the ratification and exchange of the present convention in reconnoissances of one thousand Livres Tournois each, on the express condition, that all the Canada paper belonging to British subjects, not liquidated, shall share the same fate, for its reimbursement, as French paper, and shall come in course of payment with the debts of the state, the reconnoissances or rent-contracts whereof shall be paid as the other debts, without being subjected to any reduction whatsoever ; and on the further condition that all the English proprietors of the said paper shall give up every particular indemnification from any cause or pretext whatsoever.

14TH ARTICLE.

The solemn ratifications of the present Convention shall be exchanged in good and due form, in this city of London, between the two courts, within the space of one month, or sooner, if it be possible to be reckoned from the day of signing the present convention. In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Ministers Plenipotentiary of the said two courts have signed, in their names, and by virtue of our full powers, the present convention, and caused it to be sealed with our arms.

Done at London, this twenty-ninth day of March, 1766.

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮ L.S.⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮ H. S. CONWAY.

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮ L.S.⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮ GUERCHY.

Canada Paper.

Declaration made in consequence of the *arrêt* of Council the of 24th December, 1762.

“ I, the underwritten do declare,
 “ that I have in my possession the Canada papers
 “ here undermentioned, which belong to me, or belong to
 “ ”

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

Exercises.	Stamp of the Bill of Exchange.	Dates.	Numbers.	Names of the Drawers.	Upon Whom Drawn.	To the Order of.....	When Due.	Sums.	Total per Exercises.

Total of the Bills of Exchange,

BILLETS DE MONNOYE OR ORDONNANCES.

No.	Receipt of the Treasurer of Canada for <i>Billets de Monnoye</i> .
	<i>Billets de Monnoye</i> of..... 1000
	of..... 96
	of..... 50
	of..... 48
	of..... 24
	of..... 12
	of..... 6
	of..... 3
	of..... 1 10 s.
	of..... 1

Total of the Billets de Monnoye and Ordonnances included.
Receipts of the Treasurer of Canada.....

PAPER III.—SOME THINGS BELONGING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO.

BY WILLIAM C. HOWELLS.

(Read before the Society on the 19th of May, 1875.)

WHEN I concluded to prepare this paper, I intended to make my subject, the settlement and growth of Ohio, using the early history of the Ohio Valley as a kind of background. But in sketching this background, I find the living figures, that belong to it, pressing themselves forward for expression, till they come into such prominence as to occupy enough of the foreground, to break up my plan. I have therefore adopted the freer way of making a running sketch of certain features and incidents common to the whole subject, that would not require an exact method of arrangement. I have in this way sought to present some outlines of life in the once new West as I have seen them or talked of them, with many of the old pioneers, whom I have met when I was coming upon the stage, and they were passing off; and thus using my own recollection and their story of their experiences I have been able to present traditions of the whole period at second hand, or relate remembered facts. As I have written wholly from memory, I do not pretend to great exactness of statement, though I vouch for what I give as coming within what the Lawyers express by "be the same more or less."

If you take up a map of North America, the striking feature that arrests the eye is the great water line dividing the continent from North East to South-West. Starting at the Island of Anticosti, you follow the St. Lawrence from its icy gulf, Southward to the point where it emerges from the bosom of Lake Ontario, and further on, to the second of these inland seas; when at an altitude of 800 feet above the South margin of Lake Erie, you see among the pine forests a river

of no mean proportions, running in an opposite direction, to meet a sister stream and form by their junction, *La Belle Rivière* of the old Canadian *Voyageurs*. From this point the Ohio continues its South-west ward flow a thousand miles, to unite with the Father of Waters, and complete the seven hundred leagues to the tropic Gulf of Mexico, over which the adventurous Gauls had explored their way; whose language has marked the nomenclature of the coasts; and whose colonies had planted civilization at each end of this stretch of a thousand leagues,

“From lands of snow to lands of sun.”

When Louis XIV. saw on the North side of this line, a field for an empire, he wisely essayed to establish a cordon of military posts to mark and guard this boundary against his natural rival quietly settling the shores of the Atlantic. Prominent on this line he built *Fort Du Quesne*, at the head of the Ohio, above all points important as a key to the commerce that was destined to fill these rivers with its shipping or to turn a line of attack upon that contemplated empire. Here was a point that was most accessible to the rapidly growing colonies of Englishmen, who were projecting a tide of emigration over the Alleghenies, from a stock of population adapted to that wild country, and which was rapidly assuming a character peculiarly its own, and crystalizing into a nationality that was soon to exchange all idea of loyalty for independence, and which was in its own interest about to contend with European powers for an empire which it claimed by right of possession. And doubtless the volunteers who under Washington accompanied the imprudent Braddock in the attack on *Fort Du Quesne* were inspired with their own interest rather than any feeling of loyalty to the sovereign who claimed their allegiance. But in the turn of fortune the keys of French rule in the North East passed into English keeping, at the taking of Quebec; and this great line, with all its posts,

lost its importance when it ceased to mark a boundary. With this change in affairs the people of the Atlantic coast were encouraged to emigrate and fill up the country which a short time before had been forbidden ground. And right well they accepted this invitation; for scarcely had *Du Quesne* become *Fort Pitt*, till the country between the mountains and the Ohio was alive with settlers.

The natural boundary, formed by the river, for a long time marked the division between these emigrants and the Indian natives; who from having been the allies of the French and enemies of the settlers as *Englishmen*, soon became allies of the English and enemies of the settlers as *Americans*. In this position the emigrants on the Western slope of the Alleghenies had scarcely taken their places till they were involved in a three-fold war—with the English, with the Indians and with the wilderness; for the emigration to this region had but fairly begun when the Revolution took place. But the great battle, that called forth their grandest heroism was with the "Forest Primeval." The toil and hardships of this warfare were incessant, and were shared by the entire people. Every hand was turned to labor; and neither age nor infancy rested. Steady work was only interrupted by the darkness of night or the quiet of the Sabbath. Success and peace came at last; but it was only after more than a generation had fallen in the strife.

The situation of this country and the emigration into it were peculiar. Though it was in one sense the extension of the frontier, it was also an expatriation; for the Allegheny range interposed so great a barrier between the old settlements and the new, that when the emigrants had once passed it, they were practically cut off from communication with their old homes. The journey would consume almost a month; while, unlike a voyage by sea, it was attended with great labor, without the means of transporting supplies. Therefore those who crossed this barrier did so empty handed

and dependent upon the supplies their hands could produce in the new situation. Not even provisions for a season, could be transported; and the emigrant was compelled to subsist for months upon the game of the wilderness, till he could raise from the soil the precarious supply from his first year's crops; while with the same rifle that procured him meat, he was forced to guard his family from the savage that in turn hunted him,

The period I have now in view was that which immediately succeeded the English conquest of Canada, when the settlement of Western Pennsylvania and that part of Virginia that afterwards became West Virginia and Kentucky, was commenced, which continued forward near half a century, with scarcely any change beyond the increase of population and the general clearing and opening-up of the country. The manner of life during that period was exceedingly primitive and simple, as respects physical comforts and conveniences; though the mental and intellectual state of the people was in advance of the material; for this population conducted the affairs of their domestic polity in a most respectable and orderly manner, instituting among themselves, schools, churches and courts of justice among their first public acts; while the later and wilder judicature of Judge Lynch, which marked the settlement of places farther West, was unknown to them. They were hardy, active and bright—ready for emergencies, but not lawless—and trained to maintain themselves in independence of all the world. The whole people were inured to labor; and the hive being almost without drones, they produced and accumulated a superabundance of the necessaries of life that amounted to wealth. With an almost uniform condition of society, they were free from the social rivalries that embitter older countries; and schooled to dispense with luxuries, their wants were limited to the real. From such a state of society would spring the very people best fitted to

subdue the wilderness then covering the territory lying before them, in possession of the native savages, and to plant the civilization that now covers it with near twenty millions of people, the whole cultivated to a degree never dreamed of by the Grand Monarch, in the empire he had designed for it.

Until after the close of the war of Independence, Indians held the actual possession of the lands Northwest of the Ohio and East of the Mississippi. The Kings of Europe who acquired titles to lands that belonged to somebody else, by *discovery*, had not a very clear notion of what they *had* discovered; and when they came to divide up the spoils by metes and bounds, they were governed by one rule—that the greater contains the less—and set their boundaries as widely as possible. Thus to the French colonies, was assigned all the country Northwest of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio and the Mississippi. The Kings of England granted charters to the colonies on the Atlantic coast, all of which extended back to the Western or Pacific Ocean. These grants of course overlapped the territories claimed by France, and overlapped each other besides. The ownership thereof had to be settled before emigrants could enter upon them,—particularly as the Indians disputed all the colonial claims, and also held the possession. It was therefore not till the United States had achieved their Independence, that the territory most desirable for that purpose could be made available for settlement.

One of the first acts of the new government was to arrange terms with Indians for the territory in general, and with the States claiming particular parts of it, for the management (in trust for the people) of the lands not included within the defined limits of the States. In this transaction there was no territory included that was not clearly under United States control. The National boundary at that time was another thing from the present. The Canada line on the North and the Mississippi on the West, till it entered Louisiana, whence

the line passed Eastward along the West line of Georgia on the Atlantic,—formed the frontier line of the States. So that the “Northwest Territory,” lying between the Lakes, the Mississippi and the Ohio constituted all the lands then at the disposal of the Government.

Of this Northwest Territory the greater part was claimed by Virginia, whose colonial boundary was, by its charter, made the Pacific Ocean, and Connecticut to whom King Charles had given a like Western limit. If there was any left, New York was ready to claim that. In 1787, Congress entered into a convention with these States, when the “Ordinance of Eighty-Seven,” as it has been called, was adopted. It was there stipulated that Congress should procure an extinguishment of the Indian title to the country and open it for settlement as speedily as possible.

The claim of Virginia to any part of this territory was compromised by ceding to Virginia the ownership of the lands lying North of the Ohio, and between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers and the Indian lands on the North. This district embraces about fourteen of the present counties of Ohio. The State of Virginia dedicated it to the payment of certain military obligations incurred by that State during the revolution; and from this it received the designation of the Virginia Military District. The Virginia land system, which had been extremely loose and uncertain, was applied to this District. The State, instead of surveying its lands into lots, and disposing of them under specified metes and bounds, issued warrants to settlers, who selected lands wherever they could find them, in the District, and made their own surveys. Under this vicious system, the land claims, all over this district interfered with each other, overlapped, doubled, and took on all the conceivable inconveniences of a hap-hazard location; and interminable lawsuits resulted from it, which furnished practice and wealth for a most destructive crop of Lawyers, who preyed and fattened

upon the mistakes and disputes about land titles. This district, as a matter of course was settled chiefly from Virginia. It embraces some of the most fertile land in the world. After seventy-five years of steady culture in Indian corn, much of this land now yields 100 bushels to the acre, without manure.

The State of Connecticut, which claimed to the Pacific Ocean, was willing to compromise her claim on receiving a fee simple title to the lands in the Northeast corner of the territory, bounded on the North by Lake Erie, East by the West line of Pennsylvania, South by the forty-first degree of North latitude, and West by a line striking the Lake near Sandusky Bay. This tract includes Cleveland and twelve counties of Ohio, and is popularly known as the Connecticut Western Reserve. This land, which is some of the best in the State, and nearly every acre of which is tillable, was sold out by the State of Connecticut, in townships, or as they call them *towns*, of five miles square, to individuals or companies, by whom they were surveyed into lots of 100 acres, or suitable quantities, and sold to settlers on private terms—often very easy. In this region of country, which is not hilly, every lot is laid out square, and the lines and roads all run North and South, or East and West; and all the houses are set accordingly, “square with the world.” I think my information is correct, when I say that the proceeds of these lands went to constitute the Common School fund of Connecticut, and furnished her the means to set her brilliant example to the world of Free Common Schools. The dwellers in this Western Reserve, now pay taxes on these very lands, in support of their share of the Common Schools of Ohio. This part of the new State was of course settled from New England, and chiefly from Connecticut.

This outlying North-west Territory was *prospectively* laid out into five States, which are now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and one now embracing parts

of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa. The Act of Congress by which the disposition of this territory was arranged, has been known as the Ordinance of 1787; and in the politics of the country has been important, as settling the principle of free labor, by a provision that forever, within this territory, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment of crime. This principle, (contemplated in the establishment of the Republic, and though ardently desired by the Fathers, but prevented by the existence of slavery in some of the States,) secured a degree of prosperity to the new country, that could not otherwise have attended it. The provision is said to be due to statesmen of Virginia, one of the States in after years to secede from the Union, because of the growth of this principle.

The Indian title to this region of country was extinguished as speedily as possible; and the lands were surveyed and brought into market as required. Thus the flood-gates that arrested the flow of emigration at the shores of the Ohio, were opened; and settlement took place as if by magic along the entire border.

The emigration across the Allegheny mountains had been attended with great labor and privation. The mountain range interposed a serious obstacle, that could only be passed at great expense making roads, on foot, with only pack horses for transportation of freight. One or two military expeditions had crossed the mountains, whose pioneers made temporary tracks for the transportation of stores, etc.,—as in the case of Braddock to Fort Du Quesne, and Lord Dunmore to the mouth of the Kanawha. But there had been no posts established, and these roads were only available to emigrants as mere way marks. And more than all, there were few inducements to settle on the rugged slopes of these mountains that descended to the very limit to which they could venture, except with the poorer farmers, who were farm laborers, or renters of the lands they had

cultivated on the eastern side. This kind of people had no wheeled vehicles with which to use the roads—still less the means to keep them in repair. The old colonies did nothing to foster emigration at the first of the period of settlement; and soon after, as States in revolution, they had something else to do. So that "the young man who wanted to go west," took up his knapsack and gun and went "over the hills and far away." He opened a clearing, built him a little cabin of logs, cultivated a patch of corn, gathered the crop, which he stored in the loft of his cabin, and returned to spend the winter, and finish courting his sweetheart, for an early start in the spring; when with one, or possibly two horses, on which was loaded, upon pack-saddles, his worldly-gear and bride's dower of a few household goods—very little ones—clothing and spinning wheel. Then casting back a farewell look from some mountain summit, over the old scenes, he and his partner on foot took up their line of march for a new home on which a Western sun shed rosy hues, that were only visible to courageous hope. The common method of transporting every thing over these mountains, in that day, was by means of pack-horses. Wagons, practically were never used; or if they were, the roads were in such a condition that the horses could carry their burdens better than they could haul them. The country was of that character, that after a certain range of settlement was reached, there was no land that could be cultivated till you crossed an intervening wilderness of several day's travel. It was, therefore, impossible to transport any thing but what the absolute necessity of the case made indispensable; and it became a rule to do without luxuries or conveniences, or any thing that could be dispensed with. Greatly needed articles could not to be had for love or money; and the latter was exceedingly scarce.

But a few years sufficed for these settlements to fill up, and to open and keep open communication with the older parts of the country. At the same time they cultivated

mechanic arts and manufactures, so as to supply many of their wants at home. Iron and salt, as prime necessities, were packed on horses, from the East of the mountains, within the memory of men whom I have known. But as iron and salt were made in the new country as soon as ore and springs were discovered, the transportation of them on horseback was discontinued at an early day. Other manufactures and improvements followed, till by the time the North Western Territory was opened these settlements had become a base of supplies for the new; from which the tide set afresh with a stronger flow than ever.

The whole country between the mountains and the Ohio, though very hilly and broken, was fertile and susceptible of easy improvement. It abounded in timber; and salt springs and iron ore were accessible at convenient distances. The great bulk of the population being engaged in farming, provisions were produced in so great a superabundance, that the new-comers, after a very few years, found the necessities and comforts of life ready to their hands, at reasonable prices. Before any settlements were made west of the river, mills had been built in every desired locality; and the shipment of flour by means of flat-boats, floated to the French and Spanish colonies, near and at New Orleans, had grown into a trade of real importance; and with the increasing growth of grain, the manufacture of whiskey for the same markets, or for re-shipment at New Orleans, had attained such importance, that the inhabitants were able to resist successfully an excise upon distilled liquors, and force the Government to a compromise, in the famous Whiskey Rebellion. There was an outlet for this country, down the river to the ocean and foreign countries, by which there surplus was sent to market, in arks and various kinds of floating water craft, that could not return against the current; and though produce could be shipped away, merchandize could not be brought in, except by the tedious process of packing and wagons. As the roads were improved,

transportation and travel increased, until lines of stage coaches and constant relays of wagons were steadily engaged in the trade. This transportation employed a large amount of the means of the growing country, until the introduction of steam navigation and the canals and railways perfected the means of communication. But as long as wagon transportation continued, commerce was burdened with freights that at first cost near ten dollars a hundred pounds, and never fell below two. The wagons and the teams of five or six horses each, employed in this trade when it was in its glory, would now surprize the most credulous. Their trips were voyages; and there was a time when these teams were rarely out of sight of each other, on the entire road from Baltimore or Philadelphia to the Ohio River, a distance of near four hundred miles, over which the journey occupied about three weeks, or the time of a ship across the Atlantic.

Till 1787, white men had crossed the Ohio only as adventurers and trespassers upon the Indian territory; but now the right to go there was secured; and they went in earnest. In all these settlements, there was one idea that governed every adventure—that of a man's securing a homestead farm, the fee simple title to which should be his own. Not a trace of fudalism remained with this people; and each man made it a point to own a piece of land and occupy it as he pleased. Congress met this idea by surveying the land into sections of one square mile, 640 acres, and townships of six miles square—and put it on the market at low prices—at first two dollars an acre. But there were men who wanted farms and could not buy a *section*, at that price; and it was found necessary to offer it in *quarter sections*, in payments of one, two and three years.* And here hangs many a tale of suffering—of emigrants who paid their last dollar on the first installment, and failing to make the others off the land, forfeited their labor, or saw the home around which their affections began to cluster, sold over their heads,

to some rapacious speculator; who, perhaps, mercifully *rented* it to them, till growing sons could relieve them, or till the misfortunes that lurked in the many little distilleries of the country, overwhelmed them. Congress, for the relief of this class, adopted the plan of taking back half the quantity of land; and eighty acres became a purchasable quantity. But in 1820 the lands were offered for sale at a dollar and a quarter an acre in cash only, and in 80 acres or more. This was a real relief; but it fell short of the beneficent system of Upper Canada, where the emigrant was furnished a homestead of 100 acres and stores for a year, on condition that he would occupy it. The American policy in this respect was extremely niggardly and retarded settlement; while it worked into the hands of moneyed speculators, greatly to the disadvantage of poor emigrants. And this policy was pursued long after it was apparent that the lands yielded no real revenue by sales. After more than fifty years and great effort on the part of a few far seeing men, the free homestead policy was adopted; but it was only when the lands were almost beyond reach.

Several Companies had acquired lands in what is now Ohio, which they sold on tolerably easy terms, and as it was their interest, they encouraged emigrants in various ways. The Connecticut lands of the Western Reserve were sold on easy terms to settlers. To the Ohio Company, made up in New England, of which the famous Gen. Israel Putnam of wolf hunting memory, was a member, Congress sold a tract lying on the Ohio, between the Muskingum and Scioto Rivers, and joining the Virginia Military district.

On the seventh day of April, 1788, Gen. Putnam and others of his company landed with a colony of emigrants from Connecticut, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, where they built a block-house, cleared up a considerable quantity of land and laid out the town of Marietta, as their first summer's work. This was the first permanent settlement in Ohio.

Between the Great and Little Miami Rivers, and extending Northward to the Indian Reservations—the finest tract of land in the Miami Valley, of over three hundred thousand acres, was purchased by three enterprising citizens of New Jersey, Jonathan Dayton, Israel Ludlow and John Cleve Symmes. By their means a large colony of emigrants from New Jersey came on and settled near the mouth of the Little Miami, at a place which they called Columbia, in the summer of 1788. At this point where the lands were unusually fertile, about ten miles above Cincinnati, the settlers made their headquarters for two or three years; and at this place the first house of worship in the State, was built by the Baptists. Fort Washington, situated where Cincinnati now stands, was occupied by a small garrison. This was also a central military depot; and here were organized the expeditions of St. Clair and Wayne against the Indians—the first disastrous, and the second successful, resulting in the settlement of terms of a peace that was not disturbed until the war with England of 1812-14. This fertile country was speedily filled with emigrants; and has ever since kept the lead in wealth and population. Indeed the ten or twelve counties lying in the Southwest corner of Ohio, covering a space of about sixty miles square, probably contain a greater population at this time, than any equal extent of territory in America. In 1789 a city was laid out at Fort Washington, which was called Cincinnati in honor of the patriotic order of that name. At the close of the war of Independence, many of the retiring officers of the army and their friends instituted an order somewhat resembling Knighthood, known as the Order of the Cincinnati—a patriotic fraternity, which, however well intended, excited a fear that it would lead to aristocratic distinctions; on which account it was prohibited by Congress from receiving any new members, after a given date, and left to expire. And thus the city received its name.

While the Ohio Company was preparing to bring its lands into market, some scamps bargained for part of the purchase,

at its Southwest corner; and without securing it by any payment, they sent an agent to Paris to sell lands, which they misrepresented by false descriptions of the country and the usual tricks of such speculators. They induced many to purchase of these lands; and a colony embarked for this, the most inhospitable wilderness in the whole tract; where the margins of the streams were narrow and the hills rugged and sterile. This colony was made up of denizens of that gay city, who were glad to fly from the Reign of Terror then approaching, and invest their little means in an enterprize, and community such as only enthusiastic Frenchmen could conceive of. These unfortunate emigrants arrived on the Ohio, in 1790 or 91—late in the season, at a point four miles below the mouth of the Kanawha, over 100 miles below Marietta and 200 above Cincinnati—with no intervening settlements. The name of their town Gallipolis, and the county of Gallia commemorate their adventure. These misguided people were made up from tradesmen, shopkeepers, jewellers, musicians, hair-dressers, and just such callings as belong only to a great city—many of them cultivated, and all polished to the style of Paris; and they were in sooth a *très-joli* company. They employed men from among the pioneers to build log houses for them; who also hunted for them in the forest, and supplied them meat as well as shelter, for the first winter. Though game was plenty in the wild woods, it required skill to kill it; and so it was with the use of the ax, in the forest. These poor Frenchmen could neither hunt nor chop. Whilst their money lasted they had a good time of it. Their log houses were built in such proximity as allowed of easy communication; and they spent the winter right merrily, with music, theatricals, and such scenes of Paris life as they could improvise. But when the spring came, and with it opened the battle with the trees and bush of the wilderness, they utterly failed; and starvation overtook them as soon as their little means were absorbed. Their plight was a most pitiable

one; for they were as helpless as so many children in that rugged wilderness. The Ohio Company, on whose lands they were innocent trespassers, interested themselves for their relief; paid them for their improvements and helped them to reach such points on the Atlantic, as they desired. Congress made them a grant of land, the sale of which yielded them further relief. Except two or three families, they were all dispersed before this century began. The names of *Munager*, *Le Clerq* and *Bureau* remain at Gallipolis to designate the few descendants of this unfortunate colony, who are to be found there. Some of the fanciful writers of early times attempted to weave a little romance out of the stories of this adventure, but they never succeeded in even a good love tale.

A very few years sufficed to fill the entire south side of the State of Ohio. The promise of rich lands at low prices; the hope of acquiring wealth, or, at least, a home; the general love of adventure; and the want of room that so afflicts Americans, all conspired to accelerate the flow of emigration till it filled the land like the encampment of an army. This country filled up so rapidly, that in 1800 the population was 45,000; while in 1810 it had grown to 231,000. In 1802, the State was organized with a population of a hundred thousand. The mass of population was necessarily near the Ohio and the navigable streams entering into it; because, although it could not be reached from the Eastern States by water, emigrants, after crossing the mountains, availed themselves of water conveyance from the points where they could readily reach it, on the Mononghela, Allegheny and Upper Ohio; and once embarked upon the river, it was only a question of a few days' time and slight expense, whether they landed at the East or West boundary of the State. From the shore of the river inward, the settlement extended to the line of Indian occupation in a few years; and farmers in Ohio were able to produce full supplies for immigrants and

export large quantities of flour, corn, pork and whiskey, along with their Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky neighbors.

Previous to steamboat navigation of the Western rivers, there grew up an extensive trade, down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. This trade was carried on in boats of every conceivable size and manner of construction. The prevailing style, however, was the "Broadhorn" Flatboat. This kind of craft was simply made and had great carrying capacity. It was made by whip-sawing the trunk of a large tree into two immense planks, according to the size of the tree, some of these planks being as much as seventy or eighty feet long, and from 24 to 30 inches wide, by 8 or 10 of thickness. These formed the gunwhales of the boat, which was made of the same width from bow to stern. They were hewed off at the ends so as to give the boat a slight rake fore and aft, while the bottom was otherwise flat. These two great gunwhales were framed together at each end, and by cross ties on which were placed stringers at a convenient distance apart. This frame presented the bottom of the boat upward; and in that condition the planking was done by laying the planks like a floor, the planks being of uniform thickness and width. The gunwhales having been rabbeted to receive the ends of the planks, the planking was fastened at the ends and on the stringers, with wooden pins, driven and wedged into auger holes. The whole was calked with flax-tow, and pitched; when the boat was turned over and launched. Then the gunwhales and end pieces were morticed for stanchions, which were set all round, to which siding of suitable boards was fastened, and calked to a proper height. Above that lighter boards were used for siding and roof, the roof being a gentle arch from side to side, and covering all but the front end for a few feet, which was left for entrance. The interior of a large boat of this kind would be a plain box, seventy feet long, twelve wide and six or seven deep. Into such a boat as this a large amount of freight could be stowed, and leave accommodations

for the crew or a number of passengers; who, however, did not each expect separate state-rooms. A fire-place with a wooden chimney, and lined with flat stones, would be fixed near the bow, which decided the location of the cabin. Scarcely ever one of these boats descended the river without a family or two as passengers; who put up with accommodations that would sorely puzzle ladies of this day. Taking this boat as a model, you have, with variations of size and purpose, the forms of nearly all the craft for navigating the river downward. Sometimes a family of means would build a boat for themselves, and transport, horses, a cow or two, the stock of poultry for the new place, supply of provisions and various comforts and conveniences.

It was a common practice for a trader to fit out such boats, stock them with an assortment of merchandize suited to the country trade, and make a coasting venture till his stock was sold out or exchanged for produce of the country; which he would sell at the end of his voyage, or ship it round to the Eastern cities. Or a mechanic of some kind, would open a shop on a boat, and ply his trade for customers, or traffic to the best advantage. The great scarcity of money made it an object with the people along the shores to deal with these river traders, as they always took produce of the country in pay. These trading boats became an institution that lasted on till long after steamboats had taken the carrying trade. There was something very fascinating about them, that the people seemed to cling to; while the novelty of a voyage and all connected with it must have had a charm for all concerned. The traders would usually remain long enough and repeat their visits in successive years, to become acquainted at the landings. They were decidedly popular; and if the proprietor of a boat "drew a good bow," as was often the case, he was a power in the land; for besides the entertainment of the idlers and those who shared his private supply of old whiskey, he was often a dependence at parties and frolics, for the music necessary to the

indispensible dance. These boats almost invariably carried a tin horn, on which some one on board could announce their coming, or produce at night or in a fog, a kind of weird music, embracing but few notes on a minor key, which woke echoes from the shores and rustic sentiment in many a heart. I need not apologize here for quoting from a poet of Kentucky, who, in the midst of military and civic distinction, did not forget to paint this custom in colors most attractive. I cannot better present the effect of this rude music and its surroundings than in these lines by Gen. Wm. O. Butler, a veteran officer of the Battle of the Thames, and of the Mexican War, and afterwards a candidate for the Vice-Presidency :

O, Boatman! wind that horn again,
For never did the listening air
Upon its lambent bosom bear
So soft, so wild, so sweet a strain!
What though thy notes are sad and few,
By every simple boatman blown,
Yet is each pulse to Nature true,
And melody in every tone.
How oft in boyhood's joyous day,
Unmindful of the lapse of hours,
I've loitered on my homeward way,
By wild Ohio's bank of flowers;
While some lone boatman from the deck,
Poured his soft numbers to that tide,
As if to charm from storm and wreck,
The boat where all his fortunes ride!
Enchanted echo bore its sound,
In whispers soft and softer still,
From hill to plain, from plain to hill,
Till e'en the thoughtless frolic boy
Bends o'er the flood with eager ear,
To catch the sounds, far off yet dear.

These boats were floated to their destination like rafts, and like rafts they were guided by long sweeping oars, rigged on the deck. In high water it was easy enough to direct these vessels; but as the waters receded, it required skill to manage them and keep them clear of islands and shoals.

The Ohio is a variable stream—at times so shallow that you may wade it in places, at times 50 or 60 feet deep. The flatboating and the rafting, in which there came to be an extensive trade, was chiefly done in the spring and fall. From March 1st to July, there was plenty of water. This was succeeded by three months of dry weather and low water; after which there was a “fall rise,” lasting two months or so. Altogether the navigation was good about half the year; and, in this respect, the Ohio is no better than the St. Lawrence.

Besides the flatboats, there were in use, barges, propelled by oars, which were copied from the batteaux of the French boatmen of the Lower Mississippi. Occasionally these made a voyage up the river, painfully rowed against the stream. But they were mostly built above, freighted and rowed down to the French settlements and sold out. For the up-stream navigation, the main dependence was what they called *Keel Boats*. They were batteaux, sharp at bow and stern, of light draft and narrow beam. They were propelled down stream by sweeps or oars. Up the streams they were propelled by pushing, with socket setting poles—the men setting their poles on the bottom, and facing the stern, pushing from stem to stern, walking on cleeted running boards. They usually carried a sail and used it when the wind was fair. As the river, rarely exceeded a quarter of a mile in width, they could only sail square before the wind. This manner of boating was very laborious, and could not be practiced except in low water, when the bottom could be reached, and when the swift water was only encountered in places. The current of the Ohio, at a medium stage, is about four miles an hour; but in the summer it is much less, except at the ripples or rapids. Laborious as was the keel-boat navigation, it was continued long after steamboats had come into general use, as the only means of low water navigation. The men who worked on

these keel-boats became a distinct class, celebrated along the length of the river, for tough endurance of fatigue and hardships, and a degree of wickedness of manner and morals that was without precedent or rival, even in the ideal *Coueurs du Bois* of Canada. But I have come to believe, after an acquaintance personally with many of these men, that their popular reputation was unjust and untrue. In after years these boatmen were of great value to the country, as pilots for steamboats.

The vast Pine Forests of the Allegheny Valley, in Western New York and Pennsylvania, were the source of a very extensive lumber trade, which was kept up by means of rafting, over the longest range of rafting, perhaps in the world; for rafts formed at Olean Point, three hundred miles above Pittsburgh, were often floated to New Orleans. The system of rivers of the Mississippi Valley favored, by their gentle flow, this manner of transportation, with more than usual safety. For the transportation of an emigrant family, or half a dozen of them, there was nothing to compare with the rafts of sawed lumber on the Ohio; where they floated their hundred miles a day, and encountered neither rapids nor storms; and a farmer could embark upon them his entire outfit. I have seen one of these rafts of an English acre in extent, on which was built a comfortable hut, and even a shed for horses, wagon, cattle, poultry and other stock; while children played at will, and the washing hung upon the lines, as in a well settled home—but ah! how like the voyage of life, that closes before we begin to live.

Ship building was one of the first enterprises of the West; and sea-going vessels were built at Pittsburgh, Marietta, and Cincinnati, about the beginning of this century, some of which were freighted with flour and pork and cleared for foreign ports. One of these took out her papers at Marietta, to have the very existence of her port of clearance questioned

at the end of her voyage in Italy. Unrigged ships were frequently floated out to New Orleans, after we got possession of that port.

Steamboats were the craft naturally suited to these rivers; and in 1811, the first one was built at Brownsville, sixty miles above Pittsburgh, on the Mononghela. A few others were built soon after; but it was full fifteen years from that time before they came into such general use, as to make any sensible diminution in flat and keel-boat navigation. Indeed it was not till a comparatively late period that they took possession of the trade. In building their first steamboats, they followed the models of ships, making the holds deep. This of course made them useless in low water and harder to propel against the current. They also built them with low pressure engines and machinery that was too heavy; and thus the carrying capacity was reduced. Then to attain speed, they made them sharp and narrow; but shortly after, the builders of steamboats discovered that they would run *on* the water faster than *in* it; and then the models were made flat and broad, till they got a boat capable of carrying 1000 tons, when drawing only 4 feet, and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet light. Then with two high pressure engines, one to each wheel, they could make unprecedented speed; and boats thus built afforded travelling and freight accommodations equal to any in the world. Indeed they were marvels of splendor in their appointments; and more sumptuous fare was not to be found at any public tables; while the prices of passages, including the meals, seldom exceeded hotel rates. About 25 years ago, daily lines of these boats plied between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, making the 465 miles against the stream in 48 hours. The chief improvement, in point of utility, made in the structure of river steamboats, was placing the wheel at the stern, entirely behind the hulk, with paddles the full length of the beam, operated by double engines and quartering cranks. This had the advantage of giving the wheel the eddy water of the boat to ply in, while it cleared

the boat of the after-draft. By this means very rapid currents and shallow water could be navigated, as could not be done otherwise. But this, after the competition of railways had taken away all passenger travel, reduced the steamboat to the veriest beast of burden; and on these rivers where once the proud steamer "walked the waters like a thing of life," waking the echoes of the hills with her sterterous voice, and arresting every eye with her splendor, now meekly plods the humble, unpretentious tow-boat driving before her a raft of coal or freight barges, begrimed with the smoke of coal, and condemned to the task of towing raft after raft, down the river and returning the empty barges, in the most plodding manner conceivable.

The great difficulty that lay in the way of the settlers of this country was the battle with the forest. Immense trees covered nearly all the land;—certainly all of what was first opened,—and though this timber was convenient for building their houses and barns, and making rails for their fences, it had to be cleared from the ground to make way for culture. First, when upon the ground, a house was made of logs and covered with thin boards, riven out of oak blocks, and next floored with slabs of split oak. Then came the clearing, which was done by grubbing out the bushes—and cutting off the smaller trees, which, with the brush were immediately burned. Then the trees were deadened, by chopping a girdle of notches through the bark. The ground was then ready to be plowed, as well as the rough state of it would allow, and planted with Indian corn, potatoes and pumpkins. As the trees never put out leaves after the girdling, they did not affect the crops with shade. In the fall the corn was gathered and, wheat sown where it stood. The next year more land was cleared and treated in like manner. But as the cattle and pigs lived in the forest, and boarded themselves there the greater part of the year, substantial fences—the zig-zag rail fence—had to be built around each field; and this fencing

cost nearly as much labor as the clearing. Had they not adopted the plan of deadening the trees, it would have been more than the poor emigrants could have compassed, to have cut the trees down and removed them from the ground. As it was, the trees stood till they dried up, and the branches dropped off and the trunks fell. The rubbish was cleared up and burned each spring till it was gone. In those places where the timber, like beech, elm and maple, could not be deadened, it was the custom to chop down all the trees, felling them one way ; and after they had lain a year or two, set fire to the whole mass, burn it off, and work between the stumps, till they rotted, which soon took place with that kind of timber. Throughout the whole of the middle-aged emigrant's life there was a steady fight with the forest. At times this was hard and fierce. If a man was poor, and had no sons to help him, he had, as we used to say, "a hard row to hoe." But I have many a time seen a man and his wife and daughters gathering and burning brush and building fence on a spring clearing, with far better spirits than our ladies often do their spring shopping.

On this subject of clearing the ground, people who have not been acquainted with the process, have little idea of the necessary slovenliness of it. Ever since I can remember, I have heard farmers from old settled countries, particularly Englishmen, grumble about the stumps and dead trees ; and recently I saw an article in an Upper Canada paper, lauding an invention for pulling out trees by the roots, as a blessing to emigrants, in clearing the land. The use of such a machine would be a curse. If I wanted to clear a farm, I wouldn't have the trees pulled out that way for me for nothing. Fancy the labor of getting rid of all this green timber, and filling up and smoothing over the holes left from the trees ! I hope the Emigration Societies wont inflict such a contrivance upon the poor men coming over to people the new lands of Ontario. When you clear land for a farm, the true

policy is to do it with the least labor possible, and depend upon the aid of burning and rotting to get rid of the timber.

The families of these emigrants were usually large, and of good physique, coming as they did from the hardest class of society; and they were neither afraid nor ashamed to work. I remember a case. Matthew Kenedy, a Scotchman, who stood six feet in his stockings, had one daughter and nine sons, most of whom stood six feet, but without stockings a good deal of the time, settled on a "quarter section;" (160 acres) and on the next "quarter," John Pierce, a Marylander, took up his abode. He had one son and nine daughters; and they were the tallest family of girls I ever knew, reaching six feet, nearly every one of them. The tall boys helped their father to clear up the farm; and the tall girls helped their father with the same work on his place, besides dressing flax, carding wool by hand, spinning and weaving for themselves and neighbors. Both families got to be well off; and as the most natural thing in the world, some of the Kenedy boys married some of the Pierce girls. I lost sight of these families more than forty years ago; but I will warrant the finding of some of their descendants in Illinois, Iowa, or further West.

The manner of life among these people was simple, and their habits socially, as well as their political notions, were exceedingly democratic. From necessity they supplied themselves with clothing of all the coarser kinds; and unless a family made more than usual social pretensions, they never indulged in "store clothes." It was the custom of each farmer to clear a small patch every year for flax, which grew best on the virgin soil. From this he would obtain all the flax fibre that his family could work up. It was prepared in winter time, and made nearly ready for spinning, by the men and boys; but the women spun and wove it. It was spun—as much of their wool also was—upon the small treadle wheel, known all over Europe; and the weaving was done

on a loom, of very simple construction, with the shuttle thrown by hand. The linen thus made, furnished comfortable shirting, sheeting and outer garments; and mixed in weaving, with a filling of wool, it made good linsey, which was the staple wear of women and children. Wool was worked into coarse cloth of a quality that was substantial and comfortable, but whose texture was properly supposed to be good enough for the men.

Their furniture was also plain, and very little of it sufficed to furnish the cabins, or the two story, shingle-roofed houses that succeeded them. They had nothing in this way to look at; all was *used*, and used every day; and this by civilized and pretty fairly cultivated people—among whom there was sentiment, taste and intelligence. I have known many respectable families, housed for years in a log cabin, where they had but one room below and a loft overhead, which they reached by a ladder; and in these quarters the neighbor was always welcome, night or day. From this home the children went to school daily, and the family went to preaching on Sunday, to a house of the same style of architecture. You may wonder how a family preserved delicacy of manner, when thus fed and lodged. This condition of things was not of their own choosing, and they adapted themselves to it from necessity. The loft was used for the sleeping apartment of the boys and young men; and if in the general room it was necessary, sheets were hung about the beds; and when some went to bed others looked into the fire or went out of doors. If one of the girls had a lover, they sat by the fire and talked matters over without a candle—aptly called sparking—provided they had not said all they wanted to say on the way home from the singing or spelling school. Hospitality was of the freest kind; and was only limited by the want of wherewith to be hospitable. With this was equality and fraternity; all associated on a common level, and were frequent in their meetings. The intervening distance between neighbors was made little of; and intimacy

existed between persons living miles apart. This social equality resulted doubtless from the fact that these adventurers were mostly from the same walks of life, rendered gentle and neighborly by privations and hardships, the mass seasoned by the presence of a few who, in reduced condition, retaining their refinement of manner, entered the lists of labor with their hardier neighbors.

It was a very constant practice with these people to unite their labor for various purposes, and thereby not only lighten the labor by united strength, but to make it the occasion of social enjoyment, and supply the natural want of *fêtes* and public entertainments, almost wholly unknown. If a house or a barn was to be raised, there was a gathering of the forces, such as the Yankees call a *bee*, or as the Pennsylvanians termed a *frolic*. Indeed these *frolics*, as they were always called along the Ohio, were made on almost any occasion, that would serve as an excuse for one—to help a neighbor to husk his corn, to split a lot of fence rails, to roll the logs together in a clearing, to get in the winter wood for a widow or invalid, or for the school house, which was also utilized as a church for all denominations; or any kind of job where men could work together. Adjunct to this work there was sure to be a frolic planned for the women and girls in doors, where they would spin, sew, or quilt. Both parties worked hard all day, very quietly taking a lunch at mid-day, (the men sustained meanwhile, as was too often the case, from the contents of a brown jug;) but at night there was a grand supper, where the viands were plain, but of excellent quality, in which turkeys and pumpkins pies did duty in their best style. In these houses there was no excess of room; but they managed. In the day time the men were out, and the women filled the available space. Matronly neighbors came and helped, and *ex-necessitate*, brought their babies with them; and you might have seen a couple of beds spread over with the slumbering “hopes” of many houses, quietly sleeping away their last draft upon material affection. The supper

over, the matrons and more sedate heads of families gone home, the largest room was "cleared for action;" and if the religious scruples of the family allowed it, the man of the neighborhood who "had a fiddle" was on hand; and the short hours saw them making the most of it, if they did not literally

"Dance all night, till broad daylight,

"And go home with the girls in the morning."

If dancing was forbidden, as was sometimes the case, they played plays with forfeits, where the penalty was paid in kisses,—a currency that was always at par;—and these plays often alternated with the dance. Fifty years ago, I remember that, among these plays, they had one in which they sung:

"We're marching down to old Quebec,

"Where the drums are loudly beating."

"How these youngsters, a thousand miles away had got this idea of drums beating at Quebec, I don't know. The play wound up, as I do know, by many a pretty girl being kissed, with no want of emphasis."

The early emigrants to Ohio were nearly all Americans—that is, natives of the country, of the first or second generation—children of emigrants from England, Ireland or Scotland. The prevailing nationality was that compound from the North of Ireland, well called Scotch Irish. They were Scotchmen as to descent, religion and political traditions, and the general intelligence and clear-headedness of the race; but in free, uncanny manner of talking and acting, quick wit, and readiness for any occasion, they were Irishmen, tempered with American social contact. The Scotch feature in this compound, I think governed it, as it evidently had governed the forming of society in the middle Eastern States.

The prevailing religious belief was, therefore, Presbyterian, or, at least, Protestant dissenters. When the settlements were sparse, they met together for worship without regard to sects. As they increased they divided according to their old

associations or new circumstances. There was great freedom of opinion among them ; and they were greatly given to the discussion of theological questions—a fondness for which they had doubtless inherited from their Scotch ancestry. Though but a portion of these people were attached to any of the sects of the Church, there prevailed among them a reverence for religious subjects, that infused itself into their organic and statutory laws, as well as public opinion.

For many years after the settlement began, their manufactures were confined to the household manufacture of clothing for families and a few mechanic arts—except the smelting, forging and casting of iron. Of this latter the product barely sufficed to meet the necessities of the settlements. The mineral resources of the country may be said to have been almost wholly undeveloped and almost unknown. The country was underlaid with immense beds of the finest coal in the world, coal that to-day is used in smelting iron without coaking ; and in close proximity to this, iron ore and limestone. Yet for many years the dependence for smelting iron was charcoal of wood ; and for making glass, kiln-dried wood was the common article. But the application of coal to these manufactures opened a new era in that department ; and the production of iron and glass in various forms soon made Pittsburgh and its vicinity the center of an immense trade in these and all the dependant manufactures. The vast extent and continuity of the coal beds was not understood till a comparatively late period ; but with the advance of trade and opening of a market, abundant supplies were found. As with all communities accustomed to wood as fuel for domestic use, there was a strong prejudice against the bituminous coal of this region. But then wood was abundant, until the country was cleared up ; when the comforts of coal fires brought them into favor.

At an early period, small potteries for making red earthen and stone ware, were set up in almost every village ; and this

Important article was not only cheaply supplied ; but when the war with England caused great scarcity of Delft and Porcelain, these potters managed to supply the thrifty housewives of the West, with very presentable table ware, including neatly made cups and saucers, plates, etc., and porringers and bowls wherefrom the juvenile population eat their mush and milk. Glass and iron, on account of the more costly preparations and capital required, were made at only few places in greater quantities. Every village had its tin-plate worker and copper-smith, its nailer, who made the nails in use, either wrought or cut, by hand and was the living verification of "busy as a nailer;" a blacksmith or two ; a hatter who made the hats to order, of the furs brought to him by his customers ; and shoe-makers and tailors according to demand. As the country filled up, these increased ; and machinery came into use to assist the production.

The manufacture of wool and flax into various fabrics for clothing and domestic use, was as widely spread as the population ; for in every family there was more or less of it done. This manufacture constituted a large part of the employment of the women in the country ; and the greater part of the year the grown up women were engaged in carding, spinning and weaving. Young women who are now hired to perform the labor of the kitchen and house generally, were then hired to spin, and were often employed steadily in a farmer's family, forming a part of the domestic circle and occupying a like social position with the daughters, who also worked their share. The luxuries of later times not having wrought out the present social distinctions. This labor was lightened by the introduction of carding and spinning machinery, which came into general use by degrees. Just before the war with England (1812), the manufacture of woolen goods by machinery in mills, was the great ambition of the statesmen who were interested in the political economy of the country. English workmen

and machinery were employed in this enterprize ; and fine breeds of sheep were imported from Spain, with a view of supplying the nation with home made woolens equal to the English. The new country partook of this spirit of enterprise ; and several factories were established with varied success. The most extensive of these mills went into operation about 1813, at Steubenville, 70 miles below Pittsburgh on the Ohio, where over \$500,000 capital was employed, and the finest qualities of broadcloth then in the market were produced.

The abundant production of grain in this new region, kept the market for agricultural products dull, and grain was astonishingly plenty and cheap. I have known wheat to sell readily for 25 cents a bushel, Indian corn for 18, and oats for 12½ cents ; and even on the banks of the Ohio, with its advantages of navigation, I have seen the best flour selling for \$1.00 per cwt. To relieve this plethora, mills were built on every stream, till the land was full of them, producing flour of rare quality, for export, down the river by flatboats ; and millers thought they did well to realize \$2.50 a barrel. This only disposed of the wheat. Indian corn was fed to hogs, and pork was shipped away with the flour ; but the great outlet for the corn and rye was to make it into whiskey or highwines, which were conveniently shipped away. But from this last resource grew up a crop of small distilleries that were planted on every spring of water. These little concerns would produce a few barrels of whiskey each, besides what was sold in the neighborhood, and from which grew the most of the fights, quarrels, misery and unhappiness that beset the unthrift of the country.

These enterprizes would have extended even more rapidly than they did, but for the direction of nearly all effort to the opening and improvement of the lands. This indeed was an absorbing business. Every man was intent upon acquiring the right to a piece of land, or improving what he

had. The labor of clearing and improving the lands was thus diverted from the production of grain, etc., and this somewhat relieved the market. In the war of 1812, the army supplies for the West were plentifully produced in the country—as the rations then were bread, meat and whisky.

By the commencement of this century the country west of the Alleghenies was nearly independent in its productions and manufactures. It was in a condition to do almost without foreign products, having within itself an unlimited supply of provisions of sustenance, including sugar, which was produced from the maple, of superior quality to that of more Northern latitudes; while the manufactures embraced Cloths of Linen, Wool and mixed; Leather, and its products; Glass; Iron, cast and wrought; Coarse Cutlery; Crockery; Paper, etc. In all the larger towns, Printing Offices and Newspapers were established. Before 1812 there were within the present state of Ohio alone 12 or 15 papers of very considerable circulation and influence.

When the North-west Territory was organized, Congress made provision for education, by the devotion of certain tracts of land to its support. In each of the proposed States, certain townships, containing 36 square miles of land, were set aside for Universities or Colleges; and in each of the surveyed townships, the section or square mile numbered 16, was devoted to the support of common schools, or, at least, to assist in a school fund. In Ohio were two University townships. These were taken charge of by the State Government; and on one, situated about 25 miles from Cincinnati, the town of Oxford was laid out, and *Miami University* established in 1809. The other is situated in Athens county, and embraces the shire town; where *Ohio University* was established. The lands of either of these townships, irrespective of improvements, are now worth a million of dollars; and Athens, which at first was deemed inferior to Oxford, by the discovery of its mineral wealth, is

known to be the most valuable. But in the new State of the country, the value of the land only was regarded; and since the title to this land could not be readily alienated from its original purpose, it was disposed of by leases, encumbered with the expense of clearing the land, and at so low a rental, that within a few years the feeholders of the neighborhood paid a tax to the State, exceeding the rents on these lands, that were exempt from a State tax. The result of this was that the lands, having been leased at too early a period, they yielded little or no endowment; and both institutions have maintained a very sickly existence. *Miami* has been the most successful of the two, and has turned out some men of distinction.* But in addition to the then poor endowment, these schools had to contend with a fierce competition from host of rival institutions. As the State was growing into consequence, the people went College-mad; and every rising town that failed to be a county-seat, sought to become

* Since this paper was read before the Society, I have received a letter from a gentleman, who has given close attention to this subject, who writes me particulars of the history of these endowments, that more than verify the very general view I had given from memory. He says:

“ At an early period, say about 1815, the trustees of Miami University, under a law of the State, to whom Congress granted the land, proceeded to lease the land for 99 years renewable forever, but subject to revaluation. The lands were bid off at \$1.00 to \$5.00 an acre, on which the lessees were to pay an interest of six per cent. annually. Before the time of a revaluation came, the State Legislature repealed the valuation clause; so that there has never been a revaluation of the lands of Oxford township. The whole rent now paid to the University, on 23,000 acres,—every acre of which is worth \$50,—is only \$5,600!! There were *two* townships of land given for the purpose of education, in Athens county. Under like unwise interference on the part of the Legislature—preventing revaluation, etc.,—the two townships only yield about \$4,000!! All these lands are exempt from taxation for State purposes. However well intended the action of our Legislature may have been, this income has been rendered inefficient; and the present rents are of next to no value to the institutions.”

a seat of learning ; and the Legislature granted charters of incorporation to Colleges and Academies, for the asking, till they became so numerous that few could maintain an existence except on paper. It was not to be expected that classical schools could be well supported in so new a country ; and yet this region has made itself respectable in the superior and widely extended education of its rising generations. With the democratic habits of the people, there was an equality in the degree of literary culture that had its advantages ; and the numerous competing small colleges, no doubt, contributed their share to this state of learning, which, if not profound, covered an extended surface, and embraced great numbers. And who is to pronounce this an evil ? There seem to be good reasons why it is better that a large proportion of the people should be equally advanced to a fair grade of culture, where they can mutually enjoy each other's improvement, than that a few should be advanced to a point where they must be grandly alone. I suspect that it will be found in time, that the genius of a Democratic Government is not the most kindly hand-maid of the highest grades of schools, where the few are advanced beyond the reach of the many. Within the limits of Ohio there may be a hundred Colleges and Academies, of which very few are self-sustaining. Of colleges, perhaps Oberlin comes the nearest to that condition ; which it has reached by adopting the most economical means, and accommodating students in every possible manner.

Up to 1825, the Common School Education of the youth of all the Ohio Valley was achieved by private effort. All the schools were maintained by the voluntary subscriptions of Parents and Guardians, who in this way contracted with Teachers, to conduct neighborhood schools, when for a stated compensation per pupil—often paid in farm produce—the teacher agreed to instruct the youth in certain branches, rarely beyond the three *Rs*—Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Sometimes Grammar and Mathematics were added, as

specialties. The school-houses were built by private contributions with occasional assistance from small funds provided by Congress, the principal one of which was the devotion of one section in a township of the Lands Congress had for sale. These sections were usually leased, for a rent that was little more than the tax on other lands. And this advantage only applied to the New States. But under this system the youth were pretty well educated. At the schools there was nothing taught but *letters*—no catechism or anything of that kind—all that being taught in the families or at special schools. In 1825, the Ohio Legislature, copying Connecticut and other New England States, passed an act, providing for the support of common schools by a public tax, the benefit of which should be free to all the youth of the State, without any distinction as to condition—inaugurating the principle, that the property of the State should be made to educate the children of the State, as a maxim of settled policy. When this system was commenced, it was found that the entire cost of tuition could not at once be provided for by a tax; for the public mind was not prepared for so radical a change of affairs; and there was a large class ready to argue the injustice of taxing the wealthy man without children enough to pay for the education of a poor man's household of them. Therefore for the first ten or fifteen years the school tax did not more than meet the half of the expense of the schools. But in time everything grew up to it; and now, the public schools supported by the State, and free to every person of the State, between the ages of six and twenty-one, are in every district of two miles square and in every village, ready to afford the means of instruction in all the lower branches; while in many of them, the grade is up to the usual academic course. About half the taxes paid in the State are devoted to schools, of which the State raises a million and a half of dollars as a State tax, besides the local assessments. And all this tax is levied upon property of all kinds, *ad valorem*. At the present time the youth, of school

age, number over a million. After Ohio had taken this step the other new States followed, and with them the older States of Pennsylvania and Virginia, till at this time I believe every State has a school system that approaches this in most any of its details. A result of all this is that very few native adults are to be found, in the old Northwest territory, who cannot read.

To-day all the country whose settlement I have sought to describe, is an old and well developed land, in the enjoyment of all the comforts, conveniences and elegancies of life, in common with any part of the world, with which it is in momentary communication. Commerce has filled all its avenues of trade; and its cities and towns are alive with the most advanced styles of manufactures; while its fields whiten with the rich harvests of improved agriculture; and its orchards, gardens and vineyards teem with all the luxuries at the command of culture.

But the ordinary growth of Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures is not all of the progress of this favored land. It has been found rich in the great minerals of Coal, Iron, Salt, Oil, Plaster, and the most valuable of rocks, to a degree that promises more from the mines than the earth produces. The coal deposits of Ohio alone exceed in extent all those of Great Britain, while they can be mined at less than half the cost.

The rapid developement of this country is doubtless due to steam as a motive power in the carrying trade, as well as manufactures; and next to that has been the making of highways. Perhaps the greatest single agency in this work was the Canal System of New York and Ohio, which with the Lakes, opened highways from New York to whole breath of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. After that followed Railways before which time and space have almost disappeared.

The emigration first made into the country west of the Alleghenies, a little over a century ago,—and which, in its second wave, a generation later, spread into and opened up the New States of the North-West Territory,—was chiefly made up from the people of the Atlantic States, the offspring of or actual emigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, with a small sprinkling from Germany. But the strong element in the civilization that took possession of the new country, and gave tone to it, was that combination known as Scotch-Irish, combined again with enough of the pure Scotch material to neutralize the English or German element. The religion and traditions of this people were more properly those of the Scotch-Irish than of the English. The patriotic sentiment of this country was essentially American, and had reference to the New Country from the first. Even among the earliest emigrants, and those who had grown to maturity in the old country, the sentiment of *loyalty* had hardly been entertained. Between this community and the New Englanders, there was very little in common of manners, domestic life, or religious polity. The one was English Puritan and the other Scotch Presbyterian. In politics they agreed. Of course the religion was Protestant; but though the standards of faith might be properly called Presbyterian, there was about the same diversity of sects as in England. But the State was so thoroughly separated from the church in the minds of this people, that the religious persuasions were not taken into the account in social or political relations; and in all these things there was great freedom. In politics they speedily adjusted themselves in two leading parties, between whom success and control have alternated at short periods. Within the last 40 or 50 years there has been a rapid immigration into this region, directly from the continent of Europe, without any intervening delay in the Eastern States. This has been chiefly from Germany and the kindred nations; and in such numbers as to materially change the tone of society and the general aspect

of the population, manners and customs. With the opening up of the present system of intercommunication with the rest of the world, and the consequent inflowing along these channels of so much that was foreign, it was impossible that the primitive oneness of the people should be preserved ; and it is well for the country that its institutions were well founded upon the old British ideas of constitutional government, before this immigration set in, for had the more recent element taken part in the original work, there is no telling into what seas of uncertainty we should have been cast. The last four decades have nearly revolutionized the social organization of the greater part of the West—the more Eastern part of it, however, the least.

But the progress of this country has been wonderful ; and, having Ohio in view, as an example, the parallel is not easily found in History. In 1803, Ohio was admitted as a State, with less than 40,000 square miles of territory, and about 100,000 population ; She now numbers over three millions, after having supplied half a million of emigrants to countries farther west ; and yet not the half of her territory has been reduced to cultivation. The Macadamized Roads in the State will reach many thousand miles ; the Canals measure nearly a thousand ; and the Railways between three and four thousand miles. One of her cities has a quarter of a million inhabitants, another over 125,000, and seven over 30,000. She devotes about four millions of dollars annually to the support of public free schools, affording a good English Education to every child in the state, without cost. As a state she supports five asylums for the insane ; an extensive school and asylum for idiotic and imbecile youth ; a school for the Blind and one for the Deaf and Dumb, at a cost of near two millions ; while in every county there is a farm and homestead asylum for the infirm and destitute.

Proportionably all the rest of the Great West has grown with this one state ; and what is said of it, may in a manner

be said of all. The mighty strides of progress of the nineteenth century have passed over this land as an highway ; and the foot prints of improvement mark its length and breath. Its triumphs have been those of Peace ; and humanity has been benefitted by its growth. When the last struggle for freedom came, in which the very word *slave* was to be extirpated from the American vocabulary, this West sent forth her sons, from her fields and shops, to the great battle, who laid down their lives for the right, or returned to those fields and shops, as men who could bravely serve their country in peace or war. To-day her maidens strew the graves of the fallen, who are always young, with flowers ; and her matrons preside in the homes of those who still fight the battle of life in the combats of usefulness and peace.

APPENDIX.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1874.

Your Council is happy to be able to report that the past year has again been one of unabated prosperity; ninety new members have been elected; only eight have resigned; and we have to lament the death of but one, Capt. W. P. Brown, late of the 7th Fusiliers. There now stand on the list of Associate Members three hundred and fifty names.

There have been added to the Library, one hundred and ninety-four volumes acquired by purchase, and one hundred and eighty-four by donation. Two thousand six hundred and fifty-three volumes have been taken out.

At the stated meetings the following papers were read:

On January 21, 1874.—“Inner Life on board a man-of-war,” by Commander Jephson, R.N.

On February 4, 1874.—“On the Currency of Canada under the French Domination,” by J. Stevenson, Esquire.

On March 14, 1874.—“On the Early French Settlements in North America,” by J. Langton, Esquire.

On April 18, 1874.—“On the Sieges of the Last Great War, and the changes introduced by modern weapons,” by Col. Strange.

But as such of these, as the Printing Committee decided on publishing in the Transactions, do not fill a volume of the usual size, it has been deemed better to defer the issue of a new number till another year. But there has been printed, and is now in the hands of the binders, a new edition of the “Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760,” originally published by the Society in 1838.

The Misses Neilson have generously offered to entrust to the keeping of the Society the invaluable collection of books made by the late Hon. John Neilson. For the safe preservation of those that are most rare, the governors of Morrin College have, with their wonted generosity, placed at the disposal of the Society one of the arched cells in the basement, which can, at a moderate cost, be made fire-proof. In it also should be preserved, against further risk, the society's own valuable manuscripts.

J. DOUGLAS, JR.,

President.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY, FOR 1874.

Dominion Government :—Census of Canada for 1870-71.

Journal of the Senate, vols. 7 and 8.

Journal of the House of Commons, vol. 8.

Sessional Papers, Nos. 1 to 7, 1874.

Statutes of the Dominion, 2 vols.

Table of Statutes of Dominion.

Report of Progress of Geological Survey.

Quebec Government :—Statutes of Quebec, vol. 2, 1874.

H. S. Scott :—Tables of Trade and Navigation, Dominion of Canada.

Public Accounts of do. do. 1873.

Parliamentary Report of Revenue, Public Works, &c.

T. B. Akins, Esq. :—Mineralogy of Nova Scotia.

King's College, Nova Scotia, Brief Account of.

Report of Commissioners of Mines of Nova Scotia.

Report of Sherbrook Gold District do.

Report of Waverly Gold District do.

Geological Survey of do.

Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Church of England, Nova Scotia.

Debates and Proceedings of House of Assembly, N. S.

Dr. Roy :—Report of the Lunatic Asylum, Quebec, 1872-73.

New Hampshire Historical Society, Proceedings of.

American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings of.

Harvard University, Catalogue of.

New York Lyceum of Natural History, Annals of.

Ontario Parliament :—Report of Inspector of Asylums.

Report of the Registrar General.

Boston Society of Natural History, Proceedings of, parts 1, 2, 3, and 4.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Proceedings of.

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Proceedings of.

G. Morgan :—The Royal Calender for 1799.

J. Harris :—Centrifugal Force and Gravitation and Circle and Straight Line.
Do. do. Supplement with Plates.

New York State Library :—Regents of the University.
Cabnit Reports 23 and 25.
Library Reports.

T. Wynne, Esq. :—Virginia Commissioners' Report.
Colonial Records.
Vestery Book of Henrico Parish.

W. Oland Bourne, Esq. :—Reports of Board of Education, N.Y., 1853-73.
Journal of Proceedings, N.Y., 1854-55-56-59-60-61-62-64 and 1873.
Board of Education Manuals, 1864 to 1874, N. Y.
Do. Documents, 1855-56-59-61-62-63-65-66-67-68.
Public Education in New York, 1 vol.
Chicago School Report, 1868.
Boston School Report, 1867.
New York State Report, 1871.
Report of the College of New York, 1873.
Report of the Normal College, 1873.
Bourn's History of the Public School Society.

Smithsonian Institute, Report of, for 1872.

Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 1874.

E. P. Dorr, Esq. :—Brief Sketch of the First Monitor.

Philosophical Society of Glasgow, Proceedings of.

Virginia Historical Society, Publications of.

Royal United Service Institution, Journal of.

Minnesota Academy of Natural Science, Bulletin of.

Royal United Service Institution, Lectures addressed to officers of Volunteers.

Essex Institute, Bulletin of.

W. Budden, Esq. :—History of Newfoundland.

F. A. Walker, Esq. :—Ninth Census of United States, 1870.

S. C. Gould, Esq. :—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire.

Royal Colonial Institute, London, Proceedings of 1869 to 1873.

H. Tetu, Esq. :—The Glorious Victory of the Nile.

J. Harris, Esq. :—Theology and the Science of Government.
Centrifugal Force and Gravitation, Appendix.

J. Henry, M.D. :—Four Books of Prose Literature.

Remarks on the Aeneis.

An Account of the Metropolitan Police.

Miscellanies.

Royal Irish Academy's Transactions.

J. B. Meilleur, Esq. :—Mémorial de L'Education.

Faucher de St. Maurice, Esq. :—Choses et Autres.

La Brunante.

De Québec à Mexico.

Colonel Strange, D.A. :—Artillery Retrospect of the Last Great War.

T. J. Watson, Esq. :—Constitutional History of Canada.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1874.

WHILST congratulating the Society on the extension which the Museum has attained, the undersigned does not think himself warranted in recommending the purchase of the large specimens of our *Fauna*, such as the deer, cariboo and bear of the country, inasmuch as the *locale* wont admit of it. Efforts have been made this summer to increase the number of birds, in the skin, acquired for purposes of exchange with other societies. Arrangements were recently entered into to preserve, classify and exhibit to advantage, our new collection of bird's eggs. This collection is susceptible of being much increased. It is to be hoped it will, as it has a most practicable bearing on ornithological pursuits. Several medals and coins have been added to our selection. Steps ought to be taken to procure all those Canadian medals in relation to the history of the Dominion; this would enhance still more the value of our Museum in the eyes of Numismatists and Archeologists. Some very beautiful Ferns and Algae have been presented us from British Columbia by a benefactor, who so far, has thought proper to conceal his name. A vote of thanks was publicly returned in the newspapers, in hopes it might catch his eye. The list of donations is herewith given. Permission has been granted to Mr. James Harrower, the present owner of Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery's Sword, to deposit for safe keeping in our Museum, this curious old relic of the siege and blockade of Quebec in 1775.

Measures ought to be adopted to increase the department of Indian war trophies, dresses, arms and utensils. The undersigned begs to recommend further additions to the Ornithological branch of the Museum, which seems to afford both pleasure to visitors and facilities to study and understand the Fauna of Canada.

The whole respectfully submitted.

J. M. LEMOINE,

C. M.

Quebec, 13th January, 1875.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM—1874.

Commander Jepson, R.N. :—Silver Coin of Emperor Maximilian.
Two Moorish Bronze Coins of 1288.

W. Marsden, M.D. :—A very old Coin.

J. Gillespie, Esq. :—A piece of Iron Pyrites.

C. N. Montizambert, Esq. :—A Picture of the Old Recollet Church, Quebec.

J. Fraser, Esq. :—Two Teeth of the Megatodon.

W. Hunter, Esq. :—Seven Indian Arrow Heads.

A. Sandham, Esq. :—A Medal of Young Men's Christian Association,
Montreal.

W. Marchand, Esq. :—Two Rebellion Half Dollars.

C. Tessier, Esq. :—A Coin of the Reign of Elizabeth.
A Coin of the French Republic, 1792.
A Medal of Napoleon III.

Major Slone :—One Liard de Franco, 1657.
One Silver Coin of Ancient Date.

An Old Stadaconian :—A Box Containing Specimens of Sea Weed, Coral,
Sponge, Star Fish, &c.

L. McKay, Esq. :—A Brick from Nineveh, covered with Cuneiform
Characters.

*List of Eggs recently added to the Collection in the Museum
by Purchase.*

ORDER I.—BIRDS OF PREY.

Red-shouldered Hawk,
Marsh Hawk,
Pigeon Hawk,
Sparrow Hawk,
Sharp-shinned Hawk,
Long-eared Owl,
Short-eared Owl.

ORDER II.—CLIMBERS.

Yellow-billed Cuckoo,
Hairy Woodpecker,
Downy Woodpecker,
Golden-winged Woodpecker,
Lewis Woodpecker.

ORDER III.—PERCHERS.

King Bird,
Bathmidurus Major,
Pewee,
Least Fly-catcher,
Wood Thrush,
Wilson's Thrush,
Migratory Thrush (*Robin*),
Stone-Chat,
Blue Bird,
Scarlet Tanager,
Cliff Swallow,
Bank Swallow,
Cedar Bird,
White-rumped Shrike,
Whip-poor-Will,
Warbling Vireo,
White-eyed Vireo,
Louisiana Tanager,
Savannah Sparrow,
Yellow-winged Sparrow,
Sharp-tailed Finch,
Sea-side Finch,
Lark Finch,
Ground Robin,
Yellow-headed Blackbird,
Yellow-throated Vireo,
Mocking Bird,
House Wren,
American Creeper,
Purple Finch,
Wilson's Snow Bird,
Field Sparrow,

Chipping Sparrow,
Swamp Sparrow,
Black-throated Bunting,
Rose-breasted Grosbeak,
Cardinal,
Bob-o-link (*Rice Bird*),
Red-winged Blackbird,
Orchard Oriole,
Baltimore Oriole,
Grackle Oriole,
Common Crow,
Blue Jay,
Wild Pigeon.

ORDER V.—WADERS.

Sharp-tailed Grouse,
American Crane,
Sand-hill Crane,
Reddish Egret,
Louisiana Heron,
White Heron,
Great Blue Heron,
Least Bittern,
Bittern,
Green Heron,
Night Heron,
Oyster Catcher,
Black-necked Stilt,
English Snipe,
Spotted Sandpiper,
Field Plover,
Rail,
Virginia Rail,
Common Rail,
Coot,
Florida Gallinule.

ORDER VI.—PALMATED.

Black Duck,
Blue-winged Teal,
Shoveller,
Greater Blackhead,
South Southerly,
Eider Duck,
King Eider,
Gannet Solan Goose,
Frigate Pelican,
Common Cormorant,
Florida Cormorant,
Leach's Petrel,

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

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N. B.—The "Manuscripts" and "Transactions" of the Society may be obtained on application to the Librarian at the Library.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

TRANSACTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SOCIETY.

The following "TRANSACTIONS" and MANUSCRIPTS, published by the Society, may be had on application at the Library :

Transactions of the Society,

For the years 1832; 1843; 1854; 1855; 1862; 1863; 1863-4; 1864-5; 1865-6; 1866-7; 1867-9; 1869-70; 1870-71; 1871-72; 1872-73; 1873-74; 1874-75.

Manuscripts of the Early History of Canada.

- "Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58."—By Chevalier Johnstone.
- "Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759."—From the "New York Mercury," December, 1759.
- "Colonel Malcolm Fraser's Journal of the Siege, 1759."
- "Journal du Siège de Québec en 1759."—M. Jean Claude Panet.
- "Dialogues of the Dead: Montcalm and Wolfe."—Chevalier Johnstone.
- "Campaign of 1760 in Canada."—Chevalier Johnstone.
- "Invasion of Canada, 1775."—Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell.
- "Mémoire du Sieur de Raurezay, Commandant à Québec, 1759."
- "Histoire du Montréal."
- "Voyage D'Iberville."
- "L'Armée Américaine, lors de l'Invasion du Canada en 1775-6."—Par J. B. Badeaux.
- "Journal of the Siege of Quebec, from September 18th, 1759, to May 25th, 1760."—By General James Murray.
- "Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la Guerre, tant des Anglais que des Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682 jusqu'en 1712."
- "Journal of the Siege and Blockade of Quebec by the American Rebels, in Autumn 1775 and Winter 1776."—(Hugh Finlay.)
- "A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759."

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

IN ACCOUNT WITH THE TREASURER.

Dr.

1874.

Jan. 1.—To Balance on hand—

Historical Document Fund.....	\$139 42	
Life Members' Fund.....	54 65	
General Fund.....	520 79	
		<u>\$714 86</u>
" Government Grant.....		750 00
" Interest on Deposits.....		55 86
" Subscriptions from Members.....		1,118 50
		<u>\$2,639 22</u>

Cr.

1874.

Dec. 31.—By Paid Rent.....		\$200 00
" " Books, Periodicals, Printing and Advertising..		1,097 42
" " Insurance		52 75
" " Salaries		281 46
" " Gas and Fuel.....		179 56
" " For Museum.....		33 30
" " Commission on Collections		57 35
" " Incidental Expenses.....		158 62
" " Balance—		
Historical Document Fund.....	\$139 42	
Life Members' Fund.....	56 65	
General Fund.....	382 69	
		<u>578 76</u>
		<u>\$2,639 22</u>

WM. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Literary and Historical Society
of Quebec.

SESSIONS OF 1876-7.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.
1877.

Reprinted for the Society by
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1927

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no.12

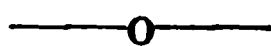
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CENTENARY FÊTE



THE year 1875 being the centennial of the defence of Quebec, against the attack of General Montgomery, the Council of the Literary and Historical Society, consisting of the following Gentlemen, viz.:

JAMES DOUGLAS, JR.....	<i>President.</i>
JAMES STEVENSON.....	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
R. S. M. BOUCHETTE.....	
COLONEL STRANGE.....	
DR. BOSWELL.....	
WM. HOSSACK.....	<i>Treasurer.</i>
RODERICK MCLEOD.....	<i>Librarian.</i>
CYRILLE TESSIER.....	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
W. CLINT.....	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
A. ROBERTSON.....	<i>Council Secretary.</i>
J. M. LEMOINE.....	<i>Curator of the Museum.</i>
COMMANDER ASHE, R. N.....	<i>Curator of Apparatus.</i>
H. S. SCOTT.....	} <i>Additional Members of</i>
ROBERT CASSELS.....	
REV. H. D. POWIS.....	
J. WHITEHEAD.....	

Resolved to hold a special meeting of the members and friends of the Society to commemorate the event. Colonel Strange, and Mr. J. M. LeMoine, ex-President, having consented to address the meeting, the following advertisement was inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Quebec Mercury*. The meeting was held accordingly, in the Rooms of the Society, and the *Morning Chronicle*, next day, contained the account of the proceedings, which follows:

Literary and Historical Society.

CENTENARY OF THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC, 1775.

THE CENTENARY OF THE DEFENCE OF QUEBEC, 1775, will be celebrated by the above Society, at their Rooms, Morrin College. WEDNESDAY EVENING, 29th December instant.

Papers relating to the event commemorated will be read by Colonel STRANGE and J. M. LEMOINE, Esq.

Chair will be taken at 8 P. M. by the Senior Vice-President, J. STEVENSON, Esq., who will give the introductory and concluding remarks.

The insufficiency of room necessitates the issuing of cards of admission, which can be obtained, ONLY BY MEMBERS, from the Assistant Librarian, Mr. McDonald, AT THE ROOMS, up to NOON of 29th instant. Each member will be entitled to two tickets.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

December 25, 1875.

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(Extract from Morning Chronicle, 30th Dec., 1875.)

The Literary and Historical Society's Centenary Fete.

It would be hardly possible to imagine a more graceful or unique gathering than that which assembled in the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society last evening, for the purpose of celebrating with all possible *eclat* that gloriously memorable event, the repulse of the troops commanded by General Richard Montgomery, of the American Army, whilom officer of the 17th Regiment of Infantry in the service of his

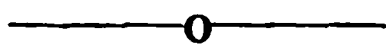
Britannic Majesty George III, who, on, the blustering wintery morning of the 31st December, 1775, attempted an assault upon the redoubts and fortifications which at that time did the duty of our present Citadel, and whose intrepidity was rewarded with a soldier's death, and his want of success formed the nucleus of the power which is so firmly established in this Royal Canada of ours to-day.

The arrangements made by the Society for the reception of their unusually numerous guests, and the decorations of the various apartments, were all that could be wished — commodious and tasteful. In the entrance hall the royal standard floated, and there the B. Battery Band was placed. Turning up the left hand flight of steps the visitor passing the large class room of Morrin College, transformed for the nonce into spacious refreshment buffets—was ushered into the lecture room, from the galleries of which flags of many nations and many colors were drooping. The raised dais, occupied during the delivery of the addresses by James Stevenson, Esq., Senior Vice-President, L. & H. Society, in the chair; Lieut.-Col. T. Bland Strange, R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq., Dr. Boswell, Vice-Presidents, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., and Commander Ashe, R. N., ex-Presidents, was flanked on either side with the blue and silver banners of St. Andrew's Society, bearing the arms and escutcheon of Scotia, and their proud motto "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*" Bunting and fresh spruce foliage gave an air of freshness to all the adornable parts of the room. Immediately opposite the lectern, which was illuminated with wax candles, placed in last century candlesticks, and attached to the gallery railings, was a fine collection of Lochaber axes, clustered around a genuine wooden Gaelic shield studded with polished knobs of glittering brass. Long before the hour of eight the company had increased to such an extent that the room was crowded to the doors, but not inconveniently as the ventilation was unexceptionable. With accustomed punctuality, James Stevenson, Esq., acting in the absence of the President, opened the meeting with some highly appropriate remarks relative to the historical value of the subjects about to be discussed and summarising very succinctly the events immediately previous to the beleaguering of the fortress city. He alluded in stirring terms to the devotion which had been manifested by the British and French defenders, who, resolved rather to be buried in the ruins than surrender the city. He stated that he thought it especially meet and proper that the Literary and Historical Society here should have taken up the matter and dealt with it in this way. He alluded in eulogistic terms to the capability of the gentlemen about to address them and, after regretting the unavoidable absence of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a lineal descendant of an officer present, formally introduced the first speaker, Lieutenant-Colonel Strange, commandant of Quebec Garrison, and Dominion Inspector of

Artillery. This gallant officer, who on rising with characteristic military brevity, was received with loud and hearty cheering by the audience, plunged *in medias res*, simply remarking, at the outset, that he, in such a position, was but a rear rank man, while Colonel Coffin would have been a front-ranker; but his soldierly duty was to fill that position in the absence of him to whom the task would have been officially assigned. The subject which formed a distinct section of the major topic of the evening was then taken up. Inasmuch as it is our intention, and we believe that of the Society, to reproduce faithfully in pamphlet form the graphic, interesting and detailed word-pictures of the ever memorable events of the 31st December, 1775, as given by the learned and competent gentlemen who addressed the meeting, it suffices to say in the present brief notice of the proceedings that Colonel Strange exhaustively treated that portion which referred to the attack and defence at Pres de Ville—the place in the vicinity of which now stands the extensive wharves of the Allan Company. Many incidents of the siege, utterly unknown to ordinary readers of history were recalled last night, and many things that have hitherto been dubious, or apparently unaccountable explained away. The story of the finding of the snow covered and hard frozen corpse of the unfortunate General and his Aide-de-Camp, was told with much pathos, as were details of his burial. The references to descendants of then existing families still residents in Quebec, were extremely interesting, because many were among the audience. At the conclusion of Colonel Strange's admirable resume, and some further pointed remarks from the Chairman, Mr. J. M. LeMoine, who is *par excellence* and *par assidue*, our Quebec historian, whose life has been mainly devoted to the compilation of antiquarian data touching the walls, the streets, the relics, the families, the very Flora, and Fauna of our cherished Stadacona—commenced his erudite and amusing sketches of the day, taken from the stand-point of the enemy's head quarters, and the fray in the Sault au Matelot. Interspersing in his own well digested statement of events, he chose the best authenticated accounts from contemporaneous participants, British, French Canadian, and American, proving that the record as presented by Col. Strange and himself last night, was a "plain unvarnished truthful tale," a reliable mirror in which was faithfully reflected all that was historically interesting as affecting Quebec in the campaign of 1775-6. When Mr. LeMoine had terminated his address, which was of considerable length, Mr. Stevenson concluded this portion of the proceedings with a most eulogistic and deserved recognition of the devotion which the two gentlemen who had read during the evening had shewn in preparing their respective papers, and a vote of thanks to them was heartily and unanimously accorded. He also made reference to the topic of the day, the restoration and embellishment of our oft sieged city, gracefully attri-

buting honor where it was due, first and foremost to His Excellency the Governor General, Earl of Dufferin, at whose instigation the plans had been prepared, secondly to His Worship the Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq., (who was present) for his untiring exertions and valuable assistance in developing, maturing and preparing the way for an early completion of said designs, which are to make Quebec a splendid architectural example of the deformed, transformed; thirdly, to the hearty co-operation of the public, aided in their views by the enterprise of the proprietor of the MORNING CHRONICLE, who had had prepared the splendid illustrations of these improvements, thereby reflecting infinite credit upon himself. After a few other remarks the ladies and gentlemen were invited to inspect and moved into the library, which for the rest of the evening was the centre of attraction. The *coup d'œil*, when once one had fairly entered into this beautifully designed, permanent focus of intellectual wealth, around whose walls were ranged the imperishable memorials of nearly all of man's genius that has been thought worthy of preserving, was striking and memorable. As in the lecture room, those emblems, which are our symbolical as well as actual rallying points in all times of trouble or war, draped and covered the book shelves which contain the essence almost of all that human intelligence, human thought, human wit, man's invention and ingenuity has as yet brought to light. Here, historian and poet, geographer and engineer, humorist and preacher, dramatist and theologian, are congregated, serving in the one great cause of public instruction and the expansion of the limitless ramifications which exist in the ever growing tree of knowledge. The student and littérateur, the bibliophile and dilettante novel reader, the most frequent visitors here last night were replaced by groups of fair women and patriotic men assembled to commemorate an event which had a marked effect upon the history of this continent in this nineteenth century, which will expire a few hours after these lines meet the reader's eyes. In lieu of study and thought, the attention of the throng was attracted to the splendid stand of arms reaching from floor to ceiling, and which as it were defended the Dominion standard that fell in long festoons behind. In the centre of a diamond shaped figure made up of scores of sabres pointing inwards, was a large glittering star of silvery steel bayonets. In chronological order were pink and gilt tablets, containing each one the names of the Lieutenant Governors of Canada, commencing with Carleton in 1775, and proceeding through the noble list which includes Haldimand, Dorchester, Dalhousie, Gosford, Colborne, Durham, Sydenham, Bagot, Cathcart, Elgin, Head, Monk, Lisgar, down to the present glorious epoch when this prosperous country is vice-regally and right royally presided over by Lord Dufferin, in the year of grace, 1875 — on the opposite side of the room, under a similar spiky coronet of bristling steel, was hung the sword of the dead and vanquished,

but honored and revered hero, the trusty blade which only left Montgomery's hands, when in his death throes he "like a soldier fell," and the pitiless snow became his winding-sheet. On a table below this interesting and valuable historic relic, now in possession, as an heirloom, of J. Thompson Harrower, Esq., of this city, was exhibited the full uniform of an artillery officer of the year 1775. Several quaint old sketches and paintings were placed around the Library, which, with the Museum was converted for the time into an extempore conversazione hall, and while the melodies of the "B" Battery band were wafted hither and thither through the building, the dames and cavaliers gossiped pleasantly over their tea or coffee and delicacies provided by the members for the guests, and declared, with much show of reason, that the Literary and Historical Society's centennial entertainment was a red-letter day in the annals of that learned and well-deserving body.



Colonel Strange and the Officers of the "B" Battery Canadian Artillery having consented to their Band playing in the Hall, on the occasion, a piece, viz.:

OVERTURE. "HUBERT" *Suppe*,

was played in the best style by a full Band, when the members and friends of the Society had assembled in the Rooms. After the piece followed:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY JAMES STEVENSON, Esq., senior Vice-President of the Literary and Historical Society, on the occasion of the commemoration in their Rooms at Quebec, of the Centennial of the repulse of the insurgents of the revolted Provinces of British North America, under General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold, on the morning of the 31st December, 1775.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the absence of the President, it devolves upon me to begin the proceedings of the evening.

We are met together to celebrate the Centennial of the successful defence of Quebec, against the attack of General Montgomery, on the morning of the 31st December, 1775.

The troops of the General occupied at the time nearly every important place in Canada. It was deemed expedient to take possession of the Province, in order to establish a barrier against the hostilities of the Indians, and to display to the world the strength of the insurgent forces. General Montgomery, then second in command to Major General Schuyler, who soon retired from the scene of action, moved in September, 1775, from Ticonderoga upon St. Johns, which surrendered after a siege of fifty days, and thence on Montreal, which he occupied with his troops, as well as Sorel, and subsequently Three Rivers. He pressed forward to join Colonel Arnold at Quebec, in order to precipitate an attack on the fortress with their combined forces before the severity of the season should render all prospect of success hopeless.

Winter had, however, fairly set in when Montgomery appeared before Quebec. He had no battering train, consequently he was not prepared for a regular siege, but he believed in a fair chance of success by assault. It is the repulse of the assault that we now commemorate. Upon the issue of the conflict hung the cause of the King in Canada, and the fate of the Colony as a dependency of the British Crown. A more daring attack than that of Montgomery upon Quebec is, perhaps, not on record in the page of History. An attack made at the break of day, in the dead of winter, and in the teeth of a driving snow storm. All that a daring man could do was done; but formidable defenders were within the walls—men resolved to be buried in the ruins rather than surrender.

Living as we do on the very scene of the action, it seems most meet that members of the Literary and Historical Society—an association formed fifty years ago for the prosecution of researches into the early History of Canada—should meet together with their friends to commemorate the centennial of the event.

The history of one's own country is the best of all historical studies. That memorable part of ours which relates to the storming of Quebec, will be discussed to-night by members of the Society who are conversant with the subject. Mr. LeMoine, ex-President—the author of several valuable works on Canadian History—will narrate the events of the assault by Colonel Arnold on the batteries at Sault-au-Matelot; and Colonel Strange has consented to deal with the simultaneous assault by General Montgomery on the Battery at Près-de-Ville, which intercepted the approach to the City, and which poured its fire with such fatal effect upon the foe. The Battery was commanded, I believe, by a private Gentleman, John Coffin, a loyalist, who left Boston on the breaking out of the Rebellion, and settled with his family in Quebec. He was conspicuously brave at the defence of the City. We hoped to have had a lineal descendant of his here to-night, Colonel Coffin, of Ottawa. He was invited to join us in the celebration; but official duties prevented his leaving the Capital.

In our own Society we claim the descendant of Captain Bouchette, a militia officer, who had the honor of being mentioned in the despatch of General Carleton to the Home Government as one of the bravest defenders of the City. I allude to our esteemed Vice-President, Mr. R. S. M. Bouchette, late Commissioner of Customs, whom I have the pleasure of seeing near me to-night.

It is not my intention to take up the time of the meeting any longer, lest in entering further upon the subject, I should trench upon the sections of History assigned to my friends, Colonel Strange and Mr. LeMoine. I shall therefore, without any further remarks, request Colonel Strange to favor us with the narrative of the attack on the Western part of the City, which he has kindly prepared for our information to-night.

The Colonel then read the narrative, as follows:

HISTORICAL NOTES

ON THE

DEFENCE OF QUEBEC IN 1775,

ESPECIALLY REFERRING TO THE AMERICAN ATTACK ON
PRES-DE-VILLE, EXTRACTED FROM THE FOL-
LOWING AUTHORITIES:

J. M. LeMoine, Esq.

Hawkins' Historical Picture of Quebec.

Dr. W. J. Anderson (late President)—Papers of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

Dr. Hubert LaRue—Histoire du Canada. Sanguinet's Journal.

Lt.-Col. Coffin, Crown Lands, Department, Ottawa.

James Thompson, late Depy. Com. Genl.

Colonel Bouchette, late Surveyor General of Canada.

Major F. Duncan, M.A., D.C.L., B.A., Historian of the Royal Artillery.

Journal of Colonel Arnold's operations, by Major Return Jonathan Meigs, of the American Army.

BY

LT.-COLONEL STRANGE,

Vice-President, Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,

29TH DECEMBER, 1875.

SOLDIERS are not supposed to write History, they make it, or are merely the stuff from which it is made. There are exceptions, from the time of Xenophon, Cæsar, Napier and Jomini, down to the Soldier Historians of my own arm and day, Colonel Hamley and Major Duncan, of the Royal Artillery.

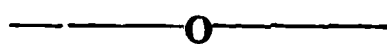
I who have passed scarce half a decade of pleasant years in the honored charge of your famous old Fortress, hallowed as it is, by the footprints of heroes, could not, without presumption, even partially attempt to pen the records of the last glorious struggle in which your forefathers hurled the invader from your gates, and kept upon your cannon crowned rock, the ancient solitary flag that alone floated securely on this continent.

One hundred years of the indomitable energy of our race has carried that banner westward to the Pacific, and eastward to our Empire of the rising sun, to belt the globe by land and sea, until it returned to its birth place, where it floats over the island cradle of our people and the palace of the gentle lady who is our Queen.

I have ventured upon no weak paraphrase of my own; where the strong, simple words of the historian suffice, I merely quote, and mainly one among you, the Washington Irving of Canada, who with truthful pen, lovingly writes the records of your people; inheriting the best brain and blood of both races, he often reminds you of what you too frequently forget: the noble records of two chivalrous races, once antagonistic, now happily supporting the same standard, loyal subjects of the same generous crown. Need I mention the name of James M. LeMoine, the gentle lover of nature, the conscientious historian. He shews that fifteen short years after the conquest, the immortal Wolfe and Montcalm had scarcely returned to their kindred dust, ere the Briton and the Gaul were shoulder to shoulder repelling the invader of our sacred soil.

Results more momentous to the new world, than the issues of Waterloo, were decided on that bleak New Year's eve, beneath the beetling crags by the shore of the St. Lawrence, where brave Montgomery found his winding sheet of snow.

The age of personal tyrants has passed. A noble civilization has more to dread, from the many headed multitudes, who are our masters. Against the tyranny of corrupt majorities lies the struggle of the future. And that struggle commenced a hundred years at this Thermopyle of Quebec, where it was decided that this new world was not to be one huge Republic, and that the wills of those who desired to dwell under the ancient institutions of their ancestors must be respected or the issue again relegated to the *ultima ratio regis et populi*.



COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.



“In 1775, the Titanic contest commenced, in which England found herself pitted against France, Spain, and her own children.

“From that year until 1783, the student of her Military history, finds his labour incessant. America and Europe alike claim his attention.” The war of Independence, and the sieges of Gibraltar and Quebec, show how the grim Old Lion stood at bay when assailed, even by his own brood. Unfortunately there are few campaigns in English history which have been more systematically misunderstood, and more deliberately ignored, than the American war between 1775 and 1783. The disadvantages under which the British troops laboured were many and great.

Soldiers will fight for a Nation which is in earnest British Soldiers will even fight when they are merely the Police to execute the wishes of a Government: instead of a people.

But in the one case they are fired with enthusiasm; in the other, their prompter is the coldest duty.

I need not reiterate what our worthy Chairman has so ably told you, that the daring advance of Montgomery had swept all the British Garrisons from Canada till the tide of American Conquest surged as vainly against the rock of Quebec, as the waves of the mighty river that flows by its walls.

—o—

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE.

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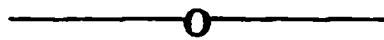
“When,” says James Thompson, “the Americans invaded Canada, in 1775, I received the orders of General Carleton, afterwards Guy, Lord Dorchester, to put the extensive fortifications of Quebec in a state of defence at a time when there was not a single article of material in stone with which to perform such an undertaking. I was consequently authorized to purchase all that was needful, and to prosecute the work with the greatest dispatch. My first object was to secure stout spar timber for pallisading a great extent of open ground between the gates called Palace and Hope, and again from Cape Diamond half-bastion, along the brow of the cape, towards the Castle St. Lewis. I accordingly succeeded in securing from Monsieur Lefleche’s timber-yard, as much spar-timber as I required at three farthings per foot. I made a beginning with fourteen Canadian carpenters at Palace Gate in pallisading with loop-holes for musketry, and made a projection in the form of a bastion, as a defence for the line of pickets, in the gorge of which I erected a block-house, which made a good defence. While employed at this station of the works, a company of artificers arrived from Halifax, and another company from

Newfoundland joined me soon after. The Halifax men, I set to work at pallisading the open ground on Cape Diamond, and framing and erecting a large block-house on the outside of Port St. Louis, to serve as a captain's nightly guard-house, in order to be prepared against a surprise, also a block-house on the cape, under Cape Diamond bastion; at the same time a party was employed in laying platforms and repairing embrasures. I also had a party of the carpenters barricading the extremities of the Lower Town, by blocking up all the windows of the houses next to the river side, and those facing the water, leaving only loopholes for musketry, as a defence in case the St. Lawrence shall freeze across. Whilst these detached services were in progress, I was on horseback from the rising, to the setting of the sun, in attending the several points where my presence was required; and again, owing to the weak state of the troops in garrison, I had to mount picket with my artificers, who were armed for that purpose, from nine o'clock at night until day-break each morning, and again resume our labours at the fortifications. Thus I continued during the blockade, without being enabled in the interval to lie down in a bed—after completing the works of defence, I, with all my artificers, were called upon to do duty as soldiers, and ordered to join Major John Nairne's party as a *corps de réserve*, in case of alarm, the grand parade being fixed upon as our rendez-vous.

“On the 3rd November, 1775, Colonel Arnold, with a party of upwards of seven hundred Americans, came out of the woods at the settlements on the River Chaudière; and on the 9th they marched to Point Levy, where they shewed themselves on the bank, immediately opposite the town of Quebec. On the 14th, in the night, they passed across the St. Lawrence, and paraded in front of Port St. Louis, at about three hundred yards distance, where they saluted the town with three cheers, in full expectation, no

doubt, that the gates would be opened for their reception. At this juncture, I was on Cape Diamond bastion, and levelled and fired a 24-pounder at them, which had the effect of making them disperse hastily and retire to Pointe-aux-Trembles.

“On the 5th December, General Montgomery, their chief commander, came with troops from Montreal, and joined Arnold, making their head-quarters at St. Foye. They sent in a flag of truce, which General Carleton utterly disregarded, declaring that he would not have any communication with rebels, unless they came to claim the King’s mercy. Montgomery was then induced to try his strength by erecting a six-gun battery in front of St. John’s Gate; a battery of two guns on the off-side of River St. Charles; and one of four guns on the Point Levy side, none of which did us any material injury. At this time, the nights being dark, I strongly recommended the use of lanterns extended on poles from the salient angles of all the bastions, the effect of which, as witnessed by Colonel McLean, commanding the 84th Regiment, was highly approved. By means of these lights, even a dog could be distinguished if in the great ditch, in the darkest night. This we continued during the absence of the moon, with the exception of a composition burned in iron pots substituted for candles.”



THE INVASION OF CANADA IN 1775.



On the 17th September, 1775, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, who had formerly been in the British service, appeared at the head of an army, before the Fort of St. John’s; which, after a gallant defence, surrendered on

the 3rd November, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. The fort of Chambly surrendered; Mr. Louis de Salaberry, was desperately wounded in the defence by an American Shell. Montreal, which was entirely defenceless, capitulated on the 12th November; and General Carleton, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American force stationed at Sorel, during the night, in a canoe with muffled paddles, and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well known courage and ability. Capt. Bouchette, contrived and executed the escape of the Governor through the American lines dressed as a peasant. *

* It is perhaps not forgotten that the Canadians, during the very heat of the Provincial wars in 1775, before they could have had time to familiarize themselves with their new allegiance, stood nevertheless firm in the cause of loyalty; and that it was through the intrepidity of a party of Canadian boatmen, chosen and commanded by the late Commodore Bouchette, himself a French Canadian, that the then Governor of the country, the late Lord Dorchester, was enabled after escaping the most critical perils, to reach the capital of the province, where his arrival is well known to have alone prevented the capitulation of Quebec, and the consequent surrender of the country. Such was the devoted feeling of the people in Canada so soon after its conquest, and such is the loyal feeling that has been confirmed and propagated under the mild and beneficent government of Great Britain.

It was a dark and damp night in November. A light skiff with muffled paddles, manned by a few chosen men, provisioned with three biscuits each, lay alongside Captain Bouchette's vessel; and under cover of the night, the disguised governor embarked, accompanied by the Honorable Charles De La Naudière, his aide-de-camp, and an orderly serjeant, whose name was Bouthellier. The skiff silently pushed off, the captain frequently communicating his orders in a preconcerted manner by a touch on the shoulder or the head of the man nearest him, who communicated the signal to the next, and so on. Their perplexity increased as they approached the Berthier Islands, from the knowledge that the enemy had taken up strong positions at this point especially on the islands south west of Lake St. Peter, which commanded the channel on that side, and compelled their adoption of the other to the northward, though the alternative seemed almost equally fraught with peril, as American troops were encamped on its banks.

The most imminent dangers they experienced, was passing through the narrows of Berthier, the shores of which were lined by American bivouacs, whose blazing fires, reflecting far on the surface of the waters, obliged them often to stoop, cease padding and allow themselves to drift down with the current, exhibiting the appearance of drifting timber frequently seen on the St. Lawrence. So near did they approach that the sentinel's exulting shout, "All's well," occasionally broke upon the awful stillness of the night, indicating their perilous situation, increased, by the constant barking of dogs, that seemed to threaten them with discovery.

It obviously required the greatest prudence and good fortune to escape the vigilance of an enemy thus stationed. The descent, however, was happily effected by

While the Province was thus threatened with subjugation on the side of Montreal, a new danger presented itself from a quarter so entirely unexpected, that until the particulars were ascertained, the fears and superstitions of the inhabitants of the country parishes had ample subject for employment and exaggeration. An expedition of a singular and daring character had been successfully prosecuted against Quebec from the New England States, by a route which was little known and generally considered impracticable. This expedition was headed by Colonel Arnold, an officer in the service of Congress; who with two regiments, amounting to about eleven hundred men, left Boston about the middle of September, and undertook to penetrate through the wilderness to Point Lévi, by the means of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudière.

The spirit of enterprise evinced in this bold design, and the patience, hardihood and perseverance of the new raised forces employed in the execution, will forever distinguish this expedition in the history of offensive operations. A handful of men ascending the course of a rapid river, and

impelling the skiff smoothly along the waters with their hands for a distance of nearly nine miles.

After ascertaining that the enemy had not yet occupied Three Rivers, they repaired thither from Point-du-Lac, nine miles from the town, and remaining there for a short space of time to recruit from their fatigues, Gen. Carleton and the whole party narrowly escaped being made prisoners by a detachment of the American army, who were now entering the town. Overcome by exhaustion, the general, leaning over a table in an inner room at Mr. De Tonnancour's, fell asleep. The clang of arms was presently heard in the outward passage, and soon afterwards American soldiers filled the apartment adjoining that in which was the General himself.

The Governor's disguise proved his preservation: and Captain Bouchette, with peculiar self-possession and affected listlessness, walked into the Governor's apartment, tapped him gently on the shoulder, and beckoned him away with the greatest apparent familiarity, to elude suspicion, at the same time apprising him cautiously of the threatening danger. Captain Bouchette led the way through the midst of the heedless guards, followed closely by the General, and, hastening to the beach, they moved off precipitately in the skiff, and reached unmolested the foot of the Richelieu Rapid, where an armed brig (the *Fell*), was fortunately found lying at anchor, which on the arrival of the Governor on board, set sail for Quebec with a favouring breeze.

Arrived at the Capital, the Governor desired to land in Captain Bouchette's boat, and was accompanied by him to the Château St. Louis, where the important service he had just rendered his country, was generously and magnanimously acknowledged in the presence of the assembled councillors and notables.

conveying arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions through an almost trackless wild—bent upon a most uncertain purpose—can scarcely be considered, however, a regular operation of war. It was rather a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be acted on the American continent.

On the 22nd September, Arnold embarked on the Kennebec River in two hundred batteaux; and notwithstanding all natural impediments—the ascent of a rapid stream—interrupted by frequent *portages* through thick woods and swamps—in spite of frequent accidents—the desertion of one-third of the number—they at length arrived at the head of the River Chaudière, having crossed the ridge of land which separates the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those which run into the sea. They now reached Lake Megantic, and following the course of the Chaudière River, their difficulties and privations, which had been so great as on one occasion to compel them to kill their dogs for sustenance, were speedily at an end. After passing thirty-two days in the wilderness, they arrived on the 4th November at the first settlement, called *Sertigan*, twenty-five leagues from Quebec, where they obtained all kinds of provisions.

On the 8th, Colonel Arnold arrived at Point Lévi, where he remained twenty-four hours before it was known at Quebec; and whence it was extremely fortunate that all the small craft and canoes had been removed by order of the officer commanding the garrison. On the 13th, late in the evening, they embarked in thirty-four canoes, and very early in the morning of the 14th, he succeeded in landing five hundred men at Wolfe's Cove, without being discovered from the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, ships of war. The first operation was to take possession of what had been General

Murray's house on St. Foy Road (Sans Bruit), and of the General Hospital. They also placed guards upon all the roads, in order to prevent the garrison from obtaining supplies from the country.

The small force of Arnold prevented any attempt being made towards the reduction of the fortress until after the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal, who took the command on the 1st December, and established his head-quarters at Holland House. On his arrival Arnold is said to have occupied the house near Scott's Bridge, to the east (the old homestead of the Langlois family).

The arrival of the Governor on the 19th November had infused the best spirit among the inhabitants of Quebec. On the 1st December, the motley garrison amounted to eighteen hundred men—all, however, full of zeal in the cause of their King and country, and well supplied with provisions for eight months. They were under the immediate command of Colonel *Allan MacLean* of the 84th Regiment or Royal Emigrants, composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser's Highlanders who had settled in Canada.

STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON, 1ST DECEMBER, 1775.

- 70 Royal Fusiliers, or 7th Regiment.
- 230 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
- 22 Royal Artillery, 3rd Comp. 4th Battalion, Capt. Jones, ("whose services on the occasion," I find in the records of my Regiment, "received the highest praise," though he has not been noticed in the local records; now No. 8 Battery 2nd Brigade, at Ceylon, truly is their service like their motto "*Ubique quo fas et gloria ducunt.*")
- 330 British Militia, under Lt.-Col. Caldwell.
- 543 Canadians, under Col. Dupré.
- 400 Seamen under Capts. Hamilton and Mackenzie.

THE RUINS OF THE INTENDANT'S PALACE.

FACING THE ST CHARLES

This once magnificent pile was constructed under the French King's directions, and the means supplied by his munificence, in 1684, under Intendant De Meulles. It was burnt in 1712, when occupied by Intendant Begon, and restored by the French Government. It became, from 1748 to 1759, the luxurious resort of Intendant Bigot and his wassailers. Under English rule, it was neglected, and Arnold's riflemen having, from the cupola, annoyed Guy Carleton's soldiers, orders were given to destroy it with the city guns.

"13TH DECEMBER, 1775.—Skulking riflemen in St. Roch watching behind walls to kill our sentries. Some of them fired from the cupola of the Intendant's Palace. We brought a nine pounder to answer them."—(*Extract of Journal of an officer of the Quebec Garrison, 1775.*)

50 Masters and Mates.

35 Marines.

120 Artificers, under Mr. James Thompson, Assist-Engineer, formerly Fraser's Highlanders.

1800 Total bearing arms.

The siege, or rather the blockade, was maintained during the whole month of December, although the incidents were few and of little interest. The Americans were established in every house near the walls, more particularly in the Suburb of St. Roch, near the Intendant's Palace. Their riflemen, secure in their excellent cover, kept up an unremitting fire upon the British sentries, wherever they could obtain a glimpse of them. As the Intendant's Palace was found to afford them a convenient shelter, from the cupola of which they constantly annoyed the sentries, a nine pounder was brought to bear upon the building; and this once splendid and distinguished edifice was reduced to ruin, and has never been rebuilt. The enemy also threw from thirty to forty shells every night into the city, which fortunately did little or no injury either to the lives or the property of the inhabitants. So accustomed did the latter become to the occurrences of a siege, that at last they ceased to regard the bombardment with alarm. In the meantime, the fire from the garrison was maintained in a very effective manner upon every point where the enemy were seen. On one occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitring near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon shot.

During this anxious period the gentry and the inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the provincial rank of Lieutenant

Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army, under General Wolfe, and had settled in the Province after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Lecompte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great service during the whole siege."

General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack, in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses. The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy. For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen, off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the Lower Town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base of Cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles street. The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain street, and when united were to force Prescott Gate. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance beyond the spot where the inclined plane has since been constructed in building the modern citadel he came to a narrow defile, with a precipice towards the river on the one side, and the scarped rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the Lower Town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard to the south of the pass. The post was entrusted to two officers of Canadian militia, Chabot and Picard, whose force consisted of thirty Canadian and eight British militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns, as artillerymen, under Captain Barnsfare, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters, of the Royal artillery. (I believe in accordance with the immemorial usage of the British army to have a trusty N. C. O. of artillery at every guard where there was a gun.) Captain Barnsfare, was master of a transport, laid up in the harbour during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from Wolfe's Cove upon the post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this, an officer was seen to approach quite near to the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body, and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the post. This was what the Guard expected: the artillerymen stood by with lighted matches, and Captain Barnsfare at the critical moment

giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery's Orderly Sergeant desperately wounded, but yet alive, was brought into the guard room. On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the sergeant evaded the question, by replying, that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful sergeant died in about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards, when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an aide-de-camp, to the Seminary, to enquire if any of the American officers, then prisoners, would identify the body. A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matelot barrier, consenting, accompanied the aide-de-camp to the *Près-de-Ville* guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two aides-de-camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Col. Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied by Mr. Racey, as a brewery, now

Allans' stores. At the time of the siege this was called the Potash. The battery extended to the south, and nearly to the river. An inscription commemorating the event has been placed upon the opposite rock, with the words : "HERE MONTGOMERY FELL."

When a duty has been faithfully performed, it is difficult and almost impossible to parcel out the praise and label each hero on the spot, doubly difficult after the lapse of a hundred years.

"When the brave hearts are dust,"
"And their good swords are rust,"

Enough. They did "What England expects of every man."—Their duty—!

Lt.-Col. Coffin, of Ottawa, quotes among other documents, a letter from Col. Caldwell to General Murray, in which he says that the brave little Garrison, after the repulse of the American Column, fell into panic at the tale of some old woman, that the Americans had carried the barrier at Sault-au-Matelot, and would take them in reverse. Sanguinet, a French Canadian contemporary, makes the same statement; he puts the number of guns at 9, and the American slain at 36. He was not, however, himself at Quebec during the siege, but at Montreal.

The ancestor of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a Loyalist gentleman Volunteer, appears to have acted with great promptitude and decision, "he drew his bayonet" and declared he would "put the first man to death who laid down his arms or abandoned his post;" let us hope such a pointed argument was unnecessary among brave men, who had just repulsed one attack, and as the sequel shewed, turned their guns to the rear, and quietly waited for a second assault, from, as they supposed, a successful and overwhelming force.

The following interesting and reliable particulars, are given by the late Mr. James Thompson, who began his

military career as a Gentleman Volunteer in the 78th Highlanders, was Overseer of Works during the siege. He died full of years and honors, on the 30th August, 1830, "if honor consists in a life of unblemished integrity."

The sword of Montgomery, in the keeping of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, is an heirloom in the family of his descendant, Mr. James Thompson Harrower, of Quebec.

"General Montgomery was killed on the occasion of his heading a division of American troops, while moving up to the assault of Quebec, on the night of the 31st December, 1775, or, rather, the morning of the 1st of January, 1776, * during a heavy snow-storm from the north-east; under the favor of which, as also to avoid the exposed situation to which his men would have been subjected had the attack been made on the land side, where there were lanterns and composition pots kept burning every night during the absence of the moon, he expected the better to carry his point."

"The path leading round the bottom of the rock on which the garrison stands, and called *Près-de-Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that the front of the line of march could present only a few files of men. The sergeant who had charge of the barrier-guard, Hugh McQuarters, — where there was a gun kept loaded with grape and musket-balls, and levelled every evening in the direction of the said foot-path—had orders to be vigilant, and when assured of an approach by any body of men, to fire the gun. It was General Montgomery's fate to be amongst the leading files of the storming party; and the precision with which McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders he had received, resulted

* It is unnecessary to observe here that the memory of the brave old sergeant, aged 96, seems to have failed him, as to the exact day. Bancroft and other standard authorities can leave no doubt on this point.

in the death of the general, two aides-de-camp, and a sergeant; at least, these were all that could be found after the search made at dawn of day the next morning. There was but one discharge of the gun, from which the general had received a grape-shot in his chin, one in the groin, and one through the thigh which shattered the bone. I never could ascertain whether the defection of Montgomery's followers was in consequence of the fall of their leader, or whether owing to their being panic-struck, a consequence so peculiar to an unlooked-for shock in the dead of night and when almost on the point of coming into action; added to which, the meeting with an obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not expected to exist. Be that as it may, he or rather, the cause in which he had engaged, was deserted by his followers at the instant that their perseverance and intrepidity were the most needed. I afterwards learnt that the men's engagements were to terminate on 31st December, (1775.)"

"Considering the then weak state of the garrison of Quebec, it is hard to say how much further the enterprise might have been carried had Montgomery effected a junction with Arnold, whose division of the storming party, then simultaneously approaching by the Sault-au-Matelot extremity, was left to carry on the contest alone, unaided, and which was left to sustain the whole brunt of the battle. But as I do not undertake to give a detailed history of the whole of the events, I return to the *General* and the sword. Holding the situation of Overseer of works in the Royal Engineer Department at Quebec, I had the superintendence of the defences to be erected throughout the place, which brought to my notice almost every incident connected with the military operations of the blockade of 1775; and from the part I had performed in the affair generally, I considered that I had some right to withhold the general's sword, particularly as it had been obtained on the battle ground."

"On its having been ascertained that Montgomery's division had withdrawn, a party went out to view the

effects of the shot, when, as the snow had fallen on the previous night about knee deep, the only part of a body that appeared *abore* the level of the snow was that of the general himself, whose hand and part of the left arm was in an erect position, but the body itself much distorted, the knees being drawn up towards the head; the other bodies that were found at the moment, were those of his aides-de-camp Cheseman and McPherson, and one sergeant. The whole were hard frozen. Montgomery's sword, (and he was the only officer of that army who wore a sword that I ever perceived,) was close by his side, and as soon as it was discovered, which was first by a drummer-boy, who made a snatch at it on the spur of the moment, and no doubt considered it as his lawful prize, but I immediately made him deliver it up to me, and some time after I made him a present of seven shillings and sixpence, by way of prize money."

As to the disputed point of who fired the fatal gun, it is of little importance. The guard was no doubt under the command of Captain Chabot and Lt. Picard, of the French Canadian militia. The British tars under Captain Barnsfare served the guns. But it was then, as it still is the custom, for a steady N. C. O. or gunner of Royal Artillery to mount with every infantry guard where there are guns. I have no doubt in my own mind that honest sergeant Hugh McQuarters of the Royal Artillery, "feared God only, and kept his powder dry,"—that he fired the fatal gun point blank down the road which he, and the gallant guard had steadily watched through, the long dark hours of that eventful night—"*Palnam qui meruit ferat.*"

James Thompson, continued:—"As it is lighter and shorter than my own sword, I adopted it and wore it in lieu. Having some business at the "Séminaire," where there was a number of American officers, prisoners of war, of General Arnold's division, I had occasion to be much vexed with my-

self for having it with me, for the instant they observed it they knew it to have been their General's, and they were very much affected by the recollections that it seemed to bring back to their minds ; indeed, several of them wept audibly ! I took care however,

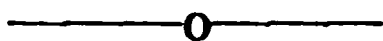
men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the Rev. Mr. De Montmollin, the military chaplain, was in attendance, and the business thus finished before I got there. On satisfying myself that the grave was properly covered up, I went and reported the circumstances to General Carleton, who expressed himself not too well pleased with Dunn's officiousness. It having been (subsequently) decided to demolish the powder magazine, and to erect a casemated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark the spot where Montgomery was buried (not so much perhaps on *his* account, as from the interest I felt for it on another score) by having a small cut stone inserted in the pavement within the barrack square, and this precaution enabled me afterwards to point out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. Lewis, who, learning that the person who had had the direction of the burial of his uncle's corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about the year 1818, for the laudable purpose of obtaining the permission of the military commander, General Sherbrooke, to take away the remains. I, of course, was called upon for the purpose of pointing out the spot; and having repaired thither with young Mr. Lewis and several officers of the garrison, together with Chief Justice Sewell and some friends of the deceased, I directed the workmen at once where to dig, and they accordingly took up the pavement exactly in the direction of the grave. The skeleton was found complete, and when removed a musket ball fell from the skull: the coffin was nearly decayed. No part of the black cloth of the outside nor of the flannel of the inside were visible; a leather thong with which the hair had been tied, was still in a state of preservation after a lapse of forty-three years; there is a spring of water near the place, which may have had the effect of hastening the decay of the contents of the grave."

"The particulars attending the removal of the remains through the several towns of the United States to their ulti-

mate place of deposit (Broadway, New York,) were published in all the public papers in that line of communication.”

“(Signed,) JAMES THOMPSON,
“Overseer of Works.

“Quebec, 16th August, 1828.”



THEN FOLLOWED THE AMERICAN ACCOUNT.



An AUTHENTIC JOURNAL of Occurrences which happened within the Circle of Major Meigs's observation—with the Operations of that Army against Quebec.

Nov. 19. Early in the morning we decamped and marched up to Pointe aux Trembles, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we passed was well settled. Every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us 7 prisoners and 2 deserters.

20. An express came in this morning from Gen. Montgomery at Montreal—the contents were, that the king's troops had abandoned the town and fled to the shipping, and that he was about to attack them with row-gallies and boats with artillery mounted in them, and that he would immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which conveyance I write to my family.

21. The curate of the parish at Pointe aux Trembles dined this day at headquarters.

22. An express from Montreal, which informs us that all the shipping were taken last Sabbath evening, and that Gen. Montgomery was about to march for Quebec.

23. An express arrived from Montreal, by whom we have intelligence that Gen. Montgomery was on his march, and that yesterday he had sent clothing for our troops. One of our men came in from the woods, who had been left behind; and says that himself with one more killed a horse and lived on the flesh several days.

24. This morning the Hunter sloop of war, and three other armed vessels, appeared in sight. An express is now going to meet the troops that are coming down from Montreal.

25. The Hunter sloop, a large scow, and an armed schooner, came to an anchor opposite to our quarters. This morning a number of men were sent up the river in a canoe to meet the troops that were coming down.

26. A number of gentlemen came in this morning from Quebec—I wrote to my father and Mrs. Meigs.

27. We are informed that the house of Major Caldwell in which our troops were quartered is burnt.

28. Col. Arnold went up to Jackarty, to hasten down the ammunition.

29. Capt. Morgan, who had been sent down to the neighbourhood of Quebec, sent up to our quarters two prisoners which he took in the suburbs.

30. This day an express went to Gen. Montgomery—Capt.——is arrived with ammunition and provisions.

Dec. 1. Gen. Montgomery arrived this day at 1 P. M. with 3 armed schooners, with men, artillery, ammunition, and provisions; to the great joy of our detachment. Towards evening our detachment turned out and marched down to the General's quarters, and was there received. The General complimented us on our appearance.

2. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field-pieces by land. The large cannon are ordered down in batteaux, which, when landed, the batteaux are to go to Point Levi for the ladders.

3. Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drew for their clothing.

4. We marched at 12 o'clock with our camp before Quebec. At evening I quartered at the house of the curate of the parish of St. Augustin; we were entertained with hospitality and elegance. The curate's name is Michael Barrau.

5. In the morning proceeded on our march for St. Foye, our camp before Quebec, where we arrived about noon. This day wrote to Mrs. Meigs.

6. I wrote to Titus Hosner, Esq., at Middle Town. Weather cold, with storms of snow.

7. I am informed that our men yesterday took a sloop with provisions and some cash.

8. We received some shot from the city, but no person was hurt.

9. A party of 100 men are ordered to cover the train this evening while they bombard the town: I went with this party. Twenty-seven shots were thrown into the town. This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's gate.

10. The enemy cannonaded our camp early in the morning and continued it till night: a party of our men are ordered into St. Rue to cover the train which are ordered there also with 5 mortars and 2 field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town, the enemy returned a few and some 24 pounders and grape shot. No person on our side was hurt, besides a Canadian who was shot thro' the body.

11. The town kept a warm cannonading upon our men, one of whom was wounded in the thigh. In the evening we sent 45 shells into the town. I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The enemy gave us a few shot and shells, but not one of them struck the battery. W. E. exceeding cold.

12. The platform nearly ready for the gun battery. W. E. cold.

13. We opened our battery, had two men wounded in it by a cannon from the city. Five men of Col. Livingston's regiment of Canadians were also wounded by a cannon shot which went through a house in St. John's suburbs where they were quartered.

14. One of our men was killed in the battery and several wounded. In the evening we threw into the town 24 shells; at the same time we were briskly cannonaded from the town.

15. This morning before sun-rise our battery began to play and continued one hour, then ceased by order of the general. A flag was then sent in to the city, but was refused admittance. After some discourse with the officers from the ramparts the flag returned. (The discourse was that Gen. Carleton would suffer no truce with rebels; if they came to implore mercy from the king he would then give them a hearing.) At 2 P. M. our battery began to play upon the town, and mortars also from the suburbs of St. Rue, which sent in 50 bombs. This day we had two men killed at our battery, and our guns damaged by a shot from the enemy. It is now in agitation to storm the town, which if resolved I hope will be undertaken with a proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigourously executed.

16. The enemy this morning began to cannonade our quarters; several shot struck the house, on which it was thought best to remove elsewhere. One of our men was shot through the body with a grape shot; his life is despaired of. I wrote to Mrs. Meigs by way of Montreal. This evening a council was held by all the commissioned officers of Col. Arnold's detachment, when the majority were for storming Quebec, as soon as the men were provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades.

17. All day at Capt. Hanchet's quarters. Nothing extraordinary happened. Cold and snow.

18. This morning I came to Mr. Duvene's house to quarter. W. E. snow.

19. No occurrences extraordinary. W. E. moderate and snowy.

20. Several of our men have the small pox at this time. W. E. cold.

21. We have orders for all our men to wear hemlock sprigs in their hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works.

22. Preparations are making and things ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise!—This evening celebrated the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.

23. This day the officers of our detachment met; the general attended to compose some matters of dispute, which were happily settled.

24. I was on a general court martial. Our chaplain preached a sermon in the chapel of the general hospital, which is exceeding elegant inside, and richly decorated with carriages and gilt work.

25. Col. Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at Capt. Morgan's quarters. At 4 P. M. his honour Gen. Montgomery attended, and addressed us on the subject of an assault upon the town in a spirited manner.

26. Nothing material happened; W. E. cold.

27. This evening the troops assembled by order of the general, with a design to make an attack upon the works of Quebec—when an order from the general came for their returning to their quarters, the time and season not being thought proper for the attack.

28. The following came out in the general orders, "the General had the most sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the troops last night moved towards the attack. It was with the greatest reluctance he found himself called upon by his duty to repress their ardour; but he should hold himself answerable to those brave men, whose lives might be saved by waiting for a more favourable opportunity." This day is the 25th anniversary of my birth. A variety of scenes have presented themselves in this short term; prosperity and adversity have alternately chequered my path. Some dangers escaped, and favours innumerable received by me, demand a tribute of the warmest gratitude.

29. This day I dined with Gen. Montgomery, and spent the afternoon and evening with him in an agreeable manner. This evening as a party of our men were executing a command in the suburbs, of St. Rue, they were fired upon from the walls and one man was wounded in the leg.

30. This morning between the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock, our train threw into the city about 30 shells, which produced a number of shells and a brisk cannonading from the town. Continued our preparations to make an attack upon the city, the ladders being now ready, and the W. E. stormy, which was thought best for our purpose; the troops were ordered to parade at 2 o'clock to-morrow morning.

31. The troops assembled at two o'clock this morning; those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond collected at the general quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by Gen. Montgomery. Those that were to make the attack by suburbs of St. Rue, were headed by Col. Arnold, and which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge.—Col. Livingston with a regiment of Canadians, and Major Brown with part of a regiment from Boston, were to make the false attack upon the walls southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their places of assembly exactly at 5 o'clock; but the different routes they had to make, the great depth of snow, and other obstacles prevented the execution of Col. Livingston's command. The general moved his corps and a number of carpenters, to the pickets at Cape Diamond; the carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the general pulled them down with his own hands, and entered with his aide de camp Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill the engineer, Capt. Cheesman, the carpenters and others. The troops did not follow, except a few who attacked the guard house: the enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time, by which the general, his aid de camp, Capt. Cheesman and some others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased, and the lights in the guard house were out, at which time 'tis said, the troops might have entered.—But Colonels———thought of retreating, which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

I come now to Col. Arnold's division, which was to proceed to the attack in the following manner—A lieutenant and 30 men were to march in front as an advanced guard, then the artillery company with a field piece mounted on a sledge; and as the main body, of which, Capt. Morgan's Company was the first. The advanced party were to open when arrived near the battery, which was raised upon a wharf, and which we were obliged to attack on the way; and when our field piece had given a shot or two, the advanced party were to rush with ladders and force the battery, while Captain Morgan's company were to march round the wharf if possible on the ice. But the snow was so deep, the piece of artillery was brought on very slow, and we were finally obliged to leave it behind; and add to the delay the main body mistook their way, there being no road, the way dark and intricate, among store-houses, boats, and wharfs; and harassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which killed and wounded a number of men, without our being able to annoy them in the least, from our situation. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party, with Capt. Morgan's company, attacked the battery, some firing into the port-holes, or a kind of embrasures, while others scaled the battery with ladders, and immediately took possession of it with a guard, consisting of 30 men. This was executed with so much dispatch, that the enemy only discharged one cannon. In the attack, we lost one or two men, the enemy the same number. At this battery Col. Arnold received a wound in one of his legs with a musquet ball. So soon as the prisoners were taken care of, and a few men come up (which was near half-an-hour) our men attempted the next barrier, but could not force it; and as the main body were some time coming up, occasioned by the obstacles before mentioned: adding to this, that the part of the army, commanded by General Montgomery, after his fall, having retreated, gave the enemy the advantage to turn their whole force and attention upon us; so that before our men attempted the second barrier, the enemy had such a number of men behind it and in the house, that we were surrounded with such a fire, from double our numbers, we found it impossible to force it, they being also under cover, while we were exposed to their fire. To add to the embarrassment, we lost the help of one of our companies, which was quartered on the north side of the River St. Charles, by their not having notice in season, who, in endeavouring to join the main body, were surprized by a party of men who made a *sortie* through Palace Gate, and most of them were made prisoners. Our men, near the second barrier, took possession of some houses, and kept up a fire from them for some time, but as the body which sallied out of Palace Gate, came upon the rear, and our numbers were greatly lessened by being killed and wounded, it was thought best to retreat to the battery that we had taken, which we did, with the greatest part of our men, where at a consultation of officers present, it was the unanimous opinion that it was impracticable to retreat, as we must have passed a great part of the way, under the walls of the town, exposed to a line of fire, and our rear, exposed to the fire of the enemy at the same time; besides having the party that sallied out through Palace Gate to oppose in front. We maintained our ground till about ten in the morning, but were at last obliged, with great reluctance, to surrender prisoners of war.

By the best accounts we can obtain, our loss, by killed and wounded, amounts to about one hundred; the loss which the town sustained, we cannot learn; it must be small in comparison with ours, owing to the advantage of situation. We had one Captain and two Lieutenants killed; wounded officers, Colonel Arnold, Capt. Hubbard, Capt. Lambe, Lieut. Steel, Lieut. Tisdale and Brigade Major Ogden. The loss in that part of the army commanded by

the General besides himself, was his Aid-de-Camp, Mr. M'Pherson and Capt. Cheesman; privates, number unknown. His Honour, Brigadier General Montgomery, was shot through both his thighs and through his head: his body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the Thursday after. I am informed, when his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted: his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid like the soul that late had animated it. He was tall and slender, well limbed, of a genteel, easy, graceful, manly address, and had the voluntary love, esteem and confidence of the whole army. His death, though honorable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave General; the whole country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart might easily be seen in his actions; his sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

James Stevenson, Esq., Vice-President of the Literary and Historical Society, has kindly placed in my hands the above valuable and interesting journal, * though the plain, unvarnished tale of a soldier. Time will not permit me to give you many extracts: it agrees entirely with the accounts I have read to you.

General Montgomery has been censured for not making the real attack where the feint was made, and judging from the accounts of the incomplete state of the defences between Diamond Bastion and St. John's Gate, it would appear a military mistake to attack where, had he been successful, he would have had to make a second attack on the line of works that surrounded the Upper Town, and perhaps a third on the redoubt that occupied the position of the Citadel. Whereas had he succeeded in entering Diamond Bastion, the whole would have been taken in reverse. Mr. Thompson attributes this attack not having been attempted to the system of lights, balls and lanterns, he had inaugurated, which, as he says, would have lighted up a dog in the ditches along the Western front. Probably

* Our esteemed fellow citizen, George Hall, Esq., is the proprietor of this rare journal.

the General knew the proclivities of American riflemen, made them prefer an attack among the houses of the Lower Town to an assault in the open at day-break. Moreover, he relied upon the sympathies of his friends in the town, with whom he was in communication. It is however easy to be wise after the event. Montgomery's soldierly summary of the situation is given in the following letter to his father-in-law, shewing the chronic complaints from which soldiers suffer who have the misfortune to serve many masters:

"To R. Livingston, writing about this time, Montgomery says:

"For the good fortune which has hitherto attended us, I am, I hope, sufficiently thankful, but this very fortune, good as it has been, will become a serious and unsurmountable evil, should it lead Congress either to overrate our means or to underrate the difficulties we have yet to contend with. I need not tell you that till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered, and that, to accomplished this, we must resort to siege, investment, or storm. The first of these is out of the question, from the difficulty of making trenches in a Canadian winter, and the greater difficulty of living in them, if we could make them; secondly, from the nature of the soil, which, as I am at present instructed, renders mining impracticable, and were this otherwise, from the want of an engineer, having sufficient skill to direct the process; and thirdly, from the fewness and lightness of our artillery, which is quite unfit to break walls like those of Quebec. Investment has fewer objections, and might be sufficient, were we able to shut out entirely from the garrison and town the necessary supplies of food and fuel during the winter, but to do this well (the enemy's works being very extensive and offering many avenues to the neighbouring settlements,) will require a large army,

and from present appearance mine will not, when brought together, much, at all, exceed eight hundred combatants. Of Canadians I might be able to get a considerable number, provided I had hard money with which to clothe, feed and pay for their wages, but this is wanting. Unless therefore I am soon and amply re-inforced, investment, like siege, must be given up."

"To the storming plan there are few objections, and to this we must come at last. If my force be small, Carleton's is not great. The extensiveness of his works, in case of investment, would favor him, will, in the other case, favor us. Masters of our secret, we may select a particular time and place for attack; and to repel this the garrison must be prepared at all times and places—a circumstance which will impose upon it incessant watching and labor by day and by night, which, in its undisciplined state, must breed discontent, that may compel Carleton to capitulate, or perhaps to make an attempt to drive us off. In this last idea there is a glimmering of hope. Wolfe's success was a lucky hit, or rather a series of such hits. All sober and scientific calculation was against him, until Montcalm, permitting his courage to get the better in his discretion, gave up the advantages of his fortress and came out to try his strength on the Plains. Carleton, who was Wolfe's Quartermaster-General, understands this well, and it is to be feared will not follow the Frenchman's example. In all these views you will discern much uncertainty; but of one thing you may be sure, that unless we do something before the middle of April, the game will be up, because by that time the river may be open and let in supplies and reinforcements to the garrison in spite of anything we can do to prevent it; and again, because my troops are not engaged beyond that term, and will not be prevailed upon to stay a day longer. In reviewing what I have said, you will find that my list of wants is a long one—men, money, artillery, and clothing

accommodated to the climate. Of ammunition Carleton took care to leave little behind him at this place (Montreal). What I wish and expect is that all this be made known to Congress with a full assurance, that if I fail to execute their wishes or commands, it shall not be from any negligence of duty or infirmity of purpose on my part. *Vale, cave ne mandata frangas.*"

GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

From Hawkins' New Historical Picture of Quebec—1834

"Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of good family, in the North of Ireland, and connected by marriage with Viscount Ranelagh of that Kingdom. He had been Captain in the 17th Regiment of Foot, and had fought successfully the battles of England. He afterwards married a daughter of Judge Livingston, of Livingston Manor, on the North River, who was living in 1818. Montgomery imbibed the prevalent politics of his father-in-law's family, and joined the cause of the Colonists against the mother country.

Marshall, however, in his life of Washington, remarks that, "though he had embraced the American cause with enthusiasm, he had become wearied with its service, as was the case with nearly all the British born professional soldiers who had joined the continental. He had determined to withdraw from the army, and had signified before marching from Montreal, his resolution to resign the commission which had been conferred upon him." Marshall adds as a probable incentive to the storming of Quebec on the 31st December, 1775, "the desire of closing his military career with a degree of brilliancy suited to the elevation

of his mind, by the conquest of Quebec, and the addition of Canada to the United States.”

The excellence of his qualities and disposition procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities and services had of public esteem. Soon after his death, the Continental Congress ordered a magnificent Cenotaph to be erected to his memory, in St. Paul's Church, New York.

The memory * of Richard Montgomery has suffered un-

* The injustice unwittingly perpetrated on his memory by several historians, was rectified in a Memoir published in 1866, by J. M. LeMoine, in the *Saturday Reader* and other Reviews. Amongst other documents referred to, is a letter from the War Office, written in reply to an enquiry by the late George Coventry, Esq., of Cobourg, Ontario, which I subjoin, and which shows conclusively that the name of the Capt. Montgomery, of the 43rd, concerned in the St. Joachim massacre, was Alexander, whilst the name of Près-de-Ville Montgomery was Richard.

[Copy of Letter from War Office.]

PALL MALL,
20th September, 1866.

“SIR.

I am directed by Secretary Lieutenant General Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 14th instant, and in reply I am to inform you that there was a Captain *Richard Montgomery* who sold out of the 17th Foot on the 6th April, 1772, and that there was a Captain *Alexander Montgomery* who sold out of the 43rd Foot on the 13th February, 1766, but that the records in this office do not shew which of the two was the officer who attacked Quebec, in 1775. I am to add that, as far as can be ascertained, the following regiments were serving in Canada in 1759, viz:

(The 7th Royal Fusiliers and 26th Canadians have been omitted.)

2nd Battalion, 1st Foot; 15th, 17th, 22nd, 27th, 28th, 35th, 40th, 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 55th, 58th, 60th, (at that time called the Royal American Regiment,) 77th, 78th and 80th Regiments of Foot, as well as the Artillery and Engineers.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed,)

EDWARD LUGARD.”

GEORGE COVENTRY, Esq.,

Cobourg,

Canada West.

NOTE.—Whether Lieutenant Richard Montgomery was present at Quebec at the battle of the Plains, or during Wolfe's time, I am not prepared to decide, as though his regiment, the 17th, was then serving under Amherst, at the reduction of the forts on Lake Champlain, he might have held some staff appointment under Wolfe, or been temporarily attached to some other *corps*, but I unhesitatingly think him guiltless of the St. Joachim atrocity—which was perpetrated by Capt. Alex. Montgomery, of the 43rd—(perhaps his brother), and this opinion I have already recorded in the *Saturday Reader*, in 1866, as well as in the French press, and in a guide book, now in press.

J. M. LEMOINE.

Sillery, July, 1871.

deserved reproach from his having been confounded with his brother, Alexander Montgomery of His Majesty's 43rd Foot, who served under Wolfe at Quebec, incurred the just displeasure of that gentleman of whom it is recorded, that when desired by the Duke of Cumberland to pistol a fallen foe on the field of Culloden, replied "my commission is at your Royal Highness' disposal, it is that of a soldier, not of an executioner."

It was natural to look with extreme aversion at the bloody reprisal taken by Alexander Montgomery upon a party of French Canadian peasantry, headed by their Priest, who was shot. Upon certain other details of this painful story it is unnecessary to dwell; they justify the appellation given it, of the butchery of St. Joachim.

As stated in the Journal of Major Meigs: the troops assembled at Two o'clock on the morning of the 31st December; those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond collected at the general quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by General Montgomery. Those that were to make the attack by the suburbs of St. Roch, were headed by Colonel Arnold, and which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge. Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of Canadians, and Major Brown, with part of a regiment from Boston, were to make a false attack upon the walls southward of St. John's Gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their places of assembly exactly at five o'clock; but the different routes they had to make, the great depth of snow, and other obstacles prevented the execution of Colonel Livingston's command. The General moved with his corps and a number of carpenters, to the pickets at Cape Dia-

mond; the carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the General pulled them down with his own hands, and entered with his Aide-de-Camp, Mr. McPherson, Mr. Antill, the Engineer, Captain Cheesman, the carpenters and others. The troops did not follow, except a few who attacked the guard-house. The enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time, by which the General, his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Cheesman and some others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased, and the lights in the guard-house were out, at which time, 'tis said, the troops might have entered. But Colonels —— thought of retreating, which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

Brigadier General Montgomery, was shot through both his thighs, and through his head; his body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the Thursday after. I am informed when his body was taken up, his features were not the least distorted; his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid, like the soul that late had animated it. He was tall and slender, well limbed, of a genteel, easy, graceful, manly address, and had the voluntary love, esteem and confidence of the whole army. His death though honourable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave General, the whole country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart, might easily be seen in his actions, his sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

Major Meigs says: "In the afternoon, the officers were confined to the Seminary, and well accommodated with bedding; the privates were confined in the Recollets' or Jesuits' College. I dined this day with Captain Law,

whom in the morning I had made prisoner, but in a few hours after, I was in my turn made prisoner also. Captain Law treated me with great politeness and ingenuity.'

"Major McKenzie brought Montgomery's knee buckles, and Mr. McPherson's gold broach, and made a present of them to me, which I highly value for the sake of their late worthy owners."

The character of Richard Montgomery seems to have been entirely different from that of his brother. To judge fairly the men of that day, we must put ourselves in their position. Swayed as they doubtless were, by the conflict between allegiance and constitutional rights, family ties and sentiments of the heart, which made it hard for the head to decide its line of action. Montgomery is said to have been overlooked and hardly used by the Home Government before he took the Continental side, but it is not probable that personal feelings would influence the conduct of such a man as Montgomery; perhaps the key note to his conduct is to be found in his private letters, in one of which he wrote:—"The Congress having done me the honor of electing me a Brigadier-General in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, *perhaps forever*, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for, though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, THE WILL OF AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE, COMPELLED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN LIBERTY AND SLAVERY, MUST BE OBEYED." It is difficult for us, who are subjects of the Crown, to understand any force of circumstances or personal injuries which could compel an Englishman or a Loyal Irishman born, to raise his hand against the standard of his country, much less a soldier who had once carried it with pride and honor as an Ensign of H. M. 17th Regiment. Montgomery fell in the attempt. At this distance of time it is better to dwell only on his brilliant bravery and the

many noble qualities he possessed, admitted alike by friend and foe. The Being who knows the secrets of all hearts, in whose presence the gallant soldier has long since stood, will doubtless judge more gently and justly than we can do. (Prolonged applause.)

At the conclusion of Colonel Strange's narrative, Mr. Stevenson remarked to the meeting as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You have listened, I am sure, as I have done, with deep interest to the graphic account which Colonel Strange has given us to-night of the attack and repulse at Près-de-Ville, where the gallant Montgomery was slain. It is a fit subject for a military man to handle, and the Colonel has done it ample justice. With respect to the conduct of Montgomery in taking up arms against his King and Country—perhaps it is not our Province to pass judgment. I do not think, however, that he realized the harmony and beauty of character attributed to him by his admirers, and especially by Bancroft, in his "History of the United States." Montgomery took up arms, as many did in those trying times, against a sea of troubles; and may have vindicated the act to himself and his friends. For my part, I fail to see any justification in his case—having so recently held a Commission in the British army. I may have to allude to the subject again in my concluding remarks, and refrain from saying any more now. But what shall we say of Sir Guy Carleton, Colonel McLean, John Coffin, Barnsfare, Bouchette, Fraser, Nairne, and other brave fellows, who fought for their King and Country as loyal men should do, and immortalized their names by deeds of daring never to be forgotten. They, in our hearts, and in our gratitude, have built themselves an everlasting monument.

Captain Ashe, R. N., ex-President, and a devoted friend of the Society, remarked, respecting the conduct of Montgomery: "I cannot conceive of any extenuating circumstance in his case. Nothing could justify one who had held a Commission in the Army in taking up arms

ADDRESS

By J. M. LEMOINE, Esq.,

— ON —

Arnold's Assault on Sault-au-Matelot Barriers,

31st DECEMBER, 1775.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The event which we intend commemorating this evening, is one of peculiar interest to us as Canadians and more especially so to us, as Quebecers: the narrow, I may add, the providential escape of the whole Province, from foreign subjugation one century ago. It is less a chapter of Canadian annals, I purpose to read to you this night, than some minute details little known, and gleaned from the journals left by eye witnesses of the thrilling hand to hand fight which took place a few hundred yards from where you sit, under our walls, on the 31st December, 1775, between Col. Arnold's New England soldiery and our own garrison.

Possibly, you may not all realise the critical position of the city on that memorable morning. Next day, a Sunday, ushered in the new year. Think you there was much "visiting" much festivity on that new year's day? alas! though victory crowned our banner, there was mourning in too many Canadian homes; we too had to bury our dead.

Let us take a rapid glimpse of what had preceded the assault.

Two formidable parties, under experienced leaders, in execution of the campaign planned by George Washington and our former Deputy Post Master General, the able Benjamin Franklin, had *rendez-voused* under the walls of Quebec: both leaders intimately knew its highways and by-ways. Brigadier General Richard Montgomery before settling near New York had held a Lieutenant's commission in His Britannic Majesty's 17th Foot, and had taken a part in the war of the conquest, in 1759, and had visited Quebec. Col. Benedict Arnold, attracted by the fame of our Norman horses, had more than once, been in the city, with the object of trading in them. My friend Col. Strange has left me little to add touching the luckless hero of *Près-de-Ville*—General Montgomery. I shall therefore confine my remarks to Arnold's assault on the Lower Town, at *Sault-au-Matelot Street*.

Benedict Arnold, was indeed a daring commander. His successful journey through trackless forests between Cambridge and Quebec—his descent in boats through rivers, choked with ice, and through dangerous rapids; the cold, hunger and exposure endured by himself and his soldiers—feats of endurance of which any nation might justly feel proud.

Major-General Sir James Carmichael Smyth, a high authority on such matters, says, of this winter campaign: "It is, perhaps, one of the most wonderful instances of perseverance and spirit of enterprise upon record." So much for the bravery and endurance of our foes. I am compelled to pass unnoticed many important incidents of the campaign, in order to reach sooner the main facts.

What was the real state of the Colony on that identical 31st December, one hundred years ago? Why, it was simply desperate. The wave of invasion had surged over our

border. Fort after fort, city after city, had capitulated, and sued for quarter: Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Fort St. John, Fort Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, Three Rivers. Montgomery, with his victorious bands, had borne everything before him like a tornado. The Canadian peasantry dreaded the very sight of warriors, who must be ball-proof, as they were supposed by a curious mistake, to be "incased in plate-iron," *vêtus du tôle*, instead *de toile*.† The red * and black flag of successful rebellion floated over the suburbs of Quebec. Morgan and Humphrey's riflemen were thundering at the very gates of the City: those dear old walls—(Loud applause)—which some Vandals are longing to demolish, alone kept away the wolf.

Levi, Sillery, Ste. Foye, Lorette, Charlesbourg, the Island of Orleans, Beauport, and every inch of British territory around the City were in the possession of the Invaders: every house in the suburbs sheltered an enemy—every bush in the country might conceal a deadly foe. Treachery

† LOSSING'S FIELD BOOK—I, p. 195; thus describes the dress of the Invaders: "Each man of the three rifle companies (Morgan's, Smith's and Hendrick's) bore a rifle barreled gun a tomahawk, or a small axe, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins and moccasins, if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manners of savages." "The Canadians who first saw these (men) emerge from the woods, said they were *vêtus en toile*—clothed in linen. The word *toile* was changed to *tôle*, iron plated. By a mistake of a single word the fears of the people were greatly increased, for the news spread that the mysterious army that descended from the wilderness was clad in *sheet iron*."

* "The flag used by what was called the Continental troops, of which the force led into Canada by Arnold and Montgomery was a part, was of plain crimson; and perhaps some times it may have had a border of black. On the first of January, 1776, the army was organised; and the new flag then adopted was first unfurled at Cambridge, at the Head Quarters of General Washington, the present residence of the poet Longfellow. That flag was made up of thirteen stripes, seven red and six white; but the Union was the Union of the British flag of that day, blue, bearing the cross of St. Andrew combined with the cross of St. George and a diagonal red cross for Ireland. This design was used by the American army till after the 14th of June, 1777, when Congress ordered that the Union should be changed, the Union of the English flag removed, and in its place there should be a simple blue field with thirteen white stars, representing the thirteen colonies declared to be States. Since that time there has been no change in the flag, except that a new star is added as each new State is admitted. The present number being thirty-eight."

stalked within the camp—disaffection was busy inside and outside of the walls. At first many of the citizens, English as well as French, seemed disinclined to take part in the great family quarrel which had originated at Boston: the British of New England pitted against the British of Canada. The confusion of ideas and opinions must at first have been great: several old British officers, who had served in the war of the conquest of Canada, had turned their swords against their old mess-mates — their brothers-in-arms—amongst others, Richard Montgomery, Moses Hazen, and Donald Campbell. Quebec, denuded of its Regulars, had indeed a most gloomy prospect to look on. No soldiers to man her walls, except her citizens, unaccustomed to warfare—no succour to expect from England until the following spring—scantiness of provisions, and a terrified peasantry, who had not the power, often no desire to penetrate into the beleaguered and blockaded city during winter.

Were not these trying times for our worthy sires?

Such was the posture of affairs, when to the general joy, our gallant Governor Guy Carleton, returned and rejoined his dauntless little army at Quebec, having succeeded, thanks to Capt. Bouchette and other brave men, to elude the vigilance of the enemy in possession of Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal. Turn over the records of these days, and you will see the importance our fathers attached, to the results of the *Sault-au-Matelot* and *Près-de-Ville* engagements.

For more than twenty-five years, the 31st December, 1775, was annually commemorated, generally by a club dinner given at Ferguson's Hotel; (Freemason's Hall,) or at some other Hotel of note—sometimes a *Chateau* ball, was added by the Governor of the Province. In 1778, we find in the old *Quebec Gazette*, a grand *fête champêtre*, given by Lady

Maria Carleton, and her gallant partner Sir Guy, at The RED HOUSE, a fashionable rustic hostelry, kept by Alex. Menut, the Prince of Canadian *Soyers* of those days, who had been *Maitre d'Hôtel* to General Murray, and was selected that year by Their Excellencies; it stood on the Little River road, (the land is now owned by Mr. Tozer,) about two miles from Quebec. It reads thus in the *Gazette* of 8th January, 1778:

Quebec, 8th January, (1778)

"Yesterday, seventh night, being the anniversary of the victory obtained over the Rebels in their attack upon this City in the year 1775, a most elegant Ball and Supper were given at Menut's Tavern by the Gentlemen who served in the Garrison during the Memorable Winter. The Company, consisting of upwards of two hundred and thirty Ladies and Gentlemen, made a grand and brilliant appearance, and nothing but mirth and good humour reigned all night long. About half-past six, His Excellency SIR GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, our worthy Governor and successful General, dressed in the militia uniform, (which added lustre to the Ribbon and Star,) as were also all the gentlemen of that corps, who served under him during the siege, entered the assembly room accompanied by Lady Maria, &c., &c., and the Ball was soon opened by her Ladyship and the Honorable Henry Caldwell, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the British Militia. The dancing continued until half-past twelve, when the Ladies were conducted into the supper-room, where Mr. Menut exhibited fresh proofs of that superior excellence in the *culinary* art he so justly claims above his peers..... The company in general broke up about four in the morning, highly satisfied with their entertainment and in perfect good humour with one another. May that disposition prevail until the next and every succeeding 31st December; and may each return of that glorious day (the event of which was not only the preser-

vation of this garrison but of the whole Province), be commemorated with the same spirit and unanimity in grateful remembrance of our happy deliverance from the snares of the enemy, and with thankful acknowledgements of those blessings of peace and tranquillity, of Government and Laws, we now enjoy in consequence of that day's success."

The *Gazette* of the following year carefully chronicles the gathering of the Veterans of 1775:—"Thursday last being the anniversary of the 31st December, a Day which will be ever famous in the annals of this Country for the defeat of Faction and Rebellion, the same was observed with the utmost festivity. In the evening a Ball and cold Collation was given by the Gentlemen who composed the Garrison in the winter of 1775, to His Excellency and a numerous and brilliant assembly of Ladies and Gentlemen; the satisfaction every one felt in Commemorating so Glorious an event, strongly appeared by the joy which was visible in every countenance."

In 1790, according to the *Quebec Herald*, the annual dinner was held at the *Merchants' Coffee House*, by about 30 survivors of the Veterans, who agreed to meet twice a year, instead of once, their joviality apparently increasing with their age.

In 1794 * the *Gazette* acquaints us that the ANNIVERSARY DINNER was to be held at Ferguson's Hotel, (Free-

* Extract from the *Quebec Gazette*, May 1st, 1794.

"CLUB"

"The Gentlemen who served in the Garrison of Quebec in 1775-76, are acquainted that their Anniversary Dinner will be held at Ferguson's Hotel, on Tuesday, 6th May.

Dinner to be on Table at half-past four o'clock.

The Honble. A. de Bonne,	{	Esquires, Stewards,
" " J. Walker,		
Simon Fraser, Senr.,		
James Frost,		

John Coffin, junr.,

Secretary.

Quebec, 28th April, 1794."

mason's Hall,) on the 6th May.† We find both nationalities fraternizing in these loyal demonstrations. M. DeBonne (afterwards Judge DeBonne) taking his place next to loyal John Coffin, of Près-de-Ville fame, and probably Simon Fraser and the Hon. Hugh Finlay, will join Lieutenant Dambourgès and Col. Dupré, in toasting King George III. under the approving eye of Lt.-Col. Caldwell, Wolfe's Deputy Quarter-Master General. Col. Caldwell, lived to a green old age, and expired in this city in 1810. Our esteemed fellow-citizen, Errol Boyd Lindsay, remembers him well, and in front of whom I stand, a stalwart Volunteer of 1837, Col. Guky, is now relating how when a lad he once dined with Col. Caldwell, some seventy years ago at Belmont, amidst excellent cheer.

The *Quebec Gazette* teems with loyal English and French songs of 1775 for a quarter of a century; and for more than twenty-five years the Anniversary Banquet, Ball or Dinner was religiously kept up.

But we must hie away from these "junketings"—these festive boards, which our loyal ancestors seem to have infinitely enjoyed. We must hie away: the long wished for "snow storm," the signal of attack has come. 'Tis five o'clock before dawn. Hark to the rattle of the alarm drum. Hark! Hark to the tolling of every city bell (and you know Quebec bells are numerous), louder! louder even than the voice of the easterly storm. To ARMS! To ARMS! resounds in the Market Place—the *Place d'Armes*—and in the streets of our slumbering city.

Instead of giving you my views on the attack, I shall summon from the silent, the meditative past, one of the stirring actors in this thrilling encounter, an intrepid and youthful Volunteer, under Arnold, then aged seventeen

† Date of departure of Invaders in 1776.

years, John Joseph Henry. He will tell you how his countrymen attacked us:

"It was not," says Judge Henry, until the night of the 31st of December, 1775, that such kind of weather ensued as was considered favorable for the assault. The fore part of the night was admirably enlightened by a luminous moon. Many of us, officers as well as privates, had dispersed in various directions among the farm and tippling houses of the vicinity. We well knew the signal for rallying. This was no other than a "snow-storm." About 12 o'clock, P.M., the heaven was overcast. We repaired to quarters. By 2 o'clock we were accoutred and began our march. The storm was outrageous, and the cold wind extremely biting. In this northern country the snow is blown horizontally into the faces of travellers on most occasions—this was our case.

When we came to Craig's house, near Palace Gate, a horrible roar of cannon took place, and a ringing of all the bells of the city, which are very numerous, and of all sizes. Arnold, leading the forlorn hope, advanced, perhaps, one hundred yards, before the main body. After these followed Lamb's artillerists. Morgan's company led in the secondary part of the column of infantry. Smith's followed, headed by Steele; the Captain, from particular causes, being absent. Hendrick's company succeeded, and the eastern men, so far as known to me, followed in due order. The snow was deeper than in the fields, because of the nature of the ground. The path made by Arnold, Lamb, and Morgan was almost imperceptible, because of the falling snow. Covering the locks of our guns, with the lappets of our coats, holding down our heads (for it was impossible to bear up our faces against the imperious storm of wind and snow), we ran along the foot of the hill in single file. Along the first of our run, from Palace Gate, for several hundred paces, there stood a range of insulated buildings, which seemed to be store-houses; we passed these quickly in single file, pretty wide apart. The interstices were from thirty to fifty yards. In these intervals, we received a tremendous fire of musketry from the ramparts above us. Here we lost some brave men, when powerless to return the salutes we received, as the enemy was covered by his impregnable defences. They were even sightless to us; we could see nothing but the blaze from the muzzles of their muskets.

A number of vessels of various sizes lay along the beach, moored by their hawsers or cables to the houses. Pacing after my leader, Lieutenant Steele, at a great rate, one of those ropes took me under the chin, and cast me head long down, a declivity of at least fifteen feet. The place appeared to be either a dry-dock or a saw-pit. My descent was

terrible; gun and all was involved in a great depth of snow. Most unluckily, however, one of my knees received a violent contusion on a piece of scraggy ice, which was covered by the snow. On like occasions, we can scarcely expect, in the hurry of attack, that our intimates should attend to any other than their own concern. Mine went from me, regardless of my fate. Scrambling out of the cavity, without assistance, divesting my person and gun of the snow, and limping into the line, I attempted to assume a station and preserve it. These were none of my friends—they knew me not. I had not gone twenty yards, in my hobbling gait, before I was thrown out, and compelled to await the arrival of a chasm in the line, when a new place might be obtained. Men in affairs such as this, seem in the main, to lose the compassionate feeling, and are averse from being dislodged from their original stations. We proceeded rapidly, exposed to a long line of fire from the garrison, for now we were unprotected by any buildings. The fire had slackened in a small degree. The enemy had been partly called off to resist the General, and strengthen the party opposed to Arnold in our front. Now we saw Colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen; a parson, Spring, was one, and, in my belief, a Mr. Ogden the other. Arnold called on the troops, in a cheering voice, as we passed, urging us forward, yet it was observable among the soldiery, with whom it was my misfortune to be now placed, that the Colonel's retiring damped their spirits. A cant term "We are sold," was repeatedly heard in many parts throughout the line. Thus proceeding, enflamed by an animated but lessened fire, we came to the first barrier, where Arnold had been wounded in the onset. This contest had lasted but a few minutes, and was somewhat severe, but the energy of our men prevailed. The embrasures were entered when the enemy were discharging their guns. The guard, consisting of thirty persons, were either taken or fled, leaving their arms behind them. At this time it was discovered that our guns were useless, because of the dampness. The snow which lodged in our fleecy coats was melted by the warmth of our bodies. Thence came that disaster. Many of the party, knowing the circumstance, threw aside their own, and seized the British arms. These were not only elegant, but were such as befitted the hand of a real soldier. It was said, that ten thousand stand of such arms had been received from England, in the previous summer, for arming the Canadian militia. These people were loath to bear them in opposition to our rights. From the first barrier to the second, there was a circular course along the sides of houses, and partly through a street, probably of three hundred yards or more. This second barrier was erected across and near the mouth of a narrow street, adjacent to the foot of the hill, which opened into a larger, leading soon into the main body of the

Lower Town. Here it was, that the most serious contention took place: this became the bone of strife. The admirable Montgomery, by this time, (though it was unknown to us) was no more: yet, we expected momentarily to join him. The firing on that side of the fortress ceased, his division fell under the command of a Colonel Campbell, of the New York line, a worthless chief, who retreated, without making an effort, in pursuance of the general's original plans. The inevitable consequence was, that the whole of the forces on that side of the city, and those who were opposed to the dastardly persons employed to make the false attacks, embodied and came down to oppose our division. Here was sharp-shooting. We were on the disadvantageous side of the barrier, for such a purpose. Confined in a narrow street, hardly more than twenty feet wide, and on the lower ground, scarcely a ball, well aimed or otherwise, but must take effect upon us. Morgan, Hendricks, Steele, Humphreys, and a crowd of every class of the army, had gathered into the narrow pass, attempting to surmount the barrier, which was about twelve or more feet high, and so strongly constructed, that nothing but artillery, could effectuate its destruction. There was a construction, fifteen or twenty yards within the barrier, upon a rising ground, the cannon of which much overtopped the height of the barrier, hence, we were assailed by grape shot in abundance. This erection we called the platform. Again, within the barrier, and close into it, were two ranges of musketeers, armed with musket and bayonet, ready to receive those who might venture the dangerous leap. Add to all this, that the enemy occupied the upper chambers of the houses, in the interior of the barrier, on both sides of the street, from the windows of which we became fair marks. The enemy, having the advantage of the ground in front, a vast superiority of numbers, dry and better arms, gave them an irresistible power, in so narrow a space. Humphreys, upon a mound, which was speedily erected, attended by many brave men, attempted to scale the barrier, but was compelled to retreat, by the formidable phalanx of bayonets within, and the weight of fire from the platform and the buildings. Morgan, brave to temerity, stormed and raged; Hendricks, Steele, Nichols, Humphreys, equally brave, were sedate, though under a tremendous fire. The platform, which was within our view, was evacuated by the accuracy of our fire, and few persons dared venture there again. Now it was, that the necessity of the occupancy of the houses, on our side of the barrier, became apparent. Orders were given by Morgan to that effect. We entered—this was near day-light. The houses were a shelter, from which we might fire with much accuracy. Yet, even here, some valuable lives were lost. Hendricks, when aiming his rifle at some prominent, person, died by a straggling ball through his heart. He staggered a few feet backwards, and fell upon

a bed, where he instantly expired. He was an ornament of our little society. The amiable Humphreys died by a like kind of wound, but it was in the street, before we entered the buildings. Many other brave men fell at this place; among these were Lieutenant Cooper, of Connecticut, and perhaps fifty or sixty non-commissioned officers and privates. The wounded were numerous, and many of them dangerously so. Captain Lamb, of the York artillerists, had nearly one-half of his face carried away, by a grape or cannister shot. My friend Steele lost three of his fingers, as he was presenting his gun to fire; Captain Hubbard and Lieutenant Fisdle, were all among the wounded. When we reflect upon the whole of the dangers of this barricade, and the formidable force that came to annoy us, it is a matter of surprise that so many should escape death and wounding as did. All hope of success having vanished, a retreat was contemplated, but hesitation, uncertainty, and a lassitude of mind, which generally takes place in the affairs of men, when we fail in a project, upon which we have attached much expectation, now followed. That moment was foolishly lost, when such a movement might have been made with tolerable success. Captain Laws, at the head of two hundred men, issuing from Palace Gate, most fairly and handsomely cooped us up. Many of the men, aware of the consequences, and all our Indians and Canadians (except Natanis * and another,) escaped across the ice, which covered the Bay of St. Charles, before the arrival of Captain Laws. This was a dangerous and desperate adventure, but worth while the undertaking, in avoidance of our subsequent sufferings. Its desperateness, consisted in running two miles across shoal ice, thrown up by the high tides of this latitude—and its danger, in the meeting with air holes, deceptively covered by the bed of snow. Speaking circumspectly, yet it must be admitted conjecturally, it seems to me, that in the whole of the attack, of commissioned officers, we had six killed, five wounded, and of non-commissioned and privates, at least one hundred and fifty killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Of the enemy, many were killed and many more wounded, comparatively, than on our side, taking into view the disadvantages we laboured under; and that but two occasions happened when we could return their fire, that is, at the first and second barriers. Neither the American account of this affair, as published by Congress, nor that of Sir Guy Carleton, admit the loss of either side to be so great as it really was, in my estimation.

* Natanis and his brother Sabatis, and seventeen other (Abenakis) Indians, the nephews and friends of Sabatis, marched with Arnold to Quebec.—(*Henry's Journal*, page 75.) This may account for their successful venture through the trackless wilderness between Massachusetts and Quebec.

as to the British; on the platform they were fair objects to us. They were soon driven thence by the acuteness of our shooting.

Perhaps there never was a body of men associated, who better understood the use and manner of employing a rifle, than our corps; while by this time of the attack, they had their guns in good order. When we took possession of the houses, we had a great range. Our opportunities to kill, were enlarged. Within one hundred yards, every man must die. The British however were at home—they could easily drag their dead out of sight, and bear their wounded to the Hospital. It was the reverse with us. Captain Prentis, who commanded the provost guards, would tell me of seven or eight killed, and fifteen or twenty wounded; opposed to this, the sentries, (who were generally Irishmen, that guarded us with much simplicity, if not honesty,) frequently admitted of forty or fifty killed, and many more wounded. The latter assertions accorded with my opinion. The reason for this belief are these: when the dead, on the following days, were transported on the carioles, passed our habitation for deposition in the "dead house," we observed many bodies, of which none of us had any knowledge; and again, when our wounded were returned to us from the hospital, they uniformly spoke of being surrounded there, in its many characters, by many of the wounded of the enemy. To the great honor of General Carleton, they were all, whether friends or enemies, treated with like attention."

The Continentals of Brigadier General Montgomery had settled on the following plan of attack:—Col. Livingston, with his 300 Canadians and Major Brown, was to simulate an attack on the western portion of the walls—'Montgomery to come from Holland House down by Wolfe's Cove, creep along the narrow path close to the St. Lawrence and meet Arnold on his way from the General Hospital at the foot of Mountain Hill, and then ascend to Upper Town.

Let us hear Mr. Sanguinet's account:

"The 31st December, 1775, "says he," at five in the morning, the *Bostonnais*, about 350 strong, headed by General *Montgomery*, advanced to take the place by escalade; simultaneously 550 men under Arnold directed an assault on Sault-au-Matelot street. Captain McLeod, of the Royal Emigrants, who was on duty at that post, though notified by his sentries of their approach, pretended to discredit the fact. The guard

wanted to prepare, but he said no, so that the Bostonnais got over the palissade and took possession of the guns, which were posted on a wharf. The British sentries retired to the guard house, and the Bostonnais took the guard prisoners without firing a single shot, and located themselves in the houses of Sault-au-Matelot street. Captain McLeod, the commanding officer of the guard, feigned intoxication, and got four men to carry him. It appeared manifest to many he was in league with the foe: he was kept under arrest, until spring, when the Bostonnais evacuated Quebec. Some school boys who were near the spot, rushed up to the Upper Town and gave the alarm. Instantly every bell in the city was tolled and the drums beat to arms. Soon every body was awake and running to the *Place d'Armes*, (the Ring).

The seminary scholars and some citizens who were mounting guard that day, made for Sault-au-Matelot street, and advanced towards the guard house of that post, ignoring that the Bostonnais were there. Great was their surprise in finding themselves amidst the Bostonnais, who extended their hands towards them, shouting "Liberty for ever." These exclamations, showed them they were among the enemy. This was very perplexing: many of them tried to escape, but the Bostonnais seeing their aim, disarmed them. Several returned to the Upper Town and halted at the *Place d'Armes*, where the whole garrison was assembled, shouting at the top of their voices, that the enemy was in possession of Sault-au-Matelot street—that they had captured the guard and a battery. Their youth caused their assertions to be doubted. General Guy Carleton then ordered Col. McLean, to hurry to the Lower Town to ascertain the real state of things. He soon returned, saying "By heaven, 'tis too true the enemy has got in at Sault-au-Matelot street," General Carleton then turning towards the people said, "Now is the time to show of what stuff you are made," and instantly dispatched a detachment of 200 men to that quarter. On arriving there, the soldiers became scared and surprised at the great progress the Bostonnais had made: the invaders had already placed three scaling ladders on the third barrier, which was the weakest and the easiest to escalate; our alarm was increasing: all was excitement: disorder was getting the upper hand and our leaders seemed disinclined to advance. Fear was taking hold of the stoutest royalists, on their hearing the enemy say "Friends" calling at the same time several Quebecers by their name, "are you there?" a proof there were yet many traitors in the city, this caused all good citizens to shudder. However a Canadian named

* Sanguinet mentions a "third barrier" though other writers mention but two.—J. M. I.)

Charland, as athletic as he was brave, pulled the ladders over the barrier to his side; there were at that moment, several *Bostonnais* lying dead along the barrier: firing on both sides being pretty brisk. The invaders in order to know one another, wore a band of paper secured to their caps, with the words "*Liberty for ever*" or "*Death or Victory*" inscribed on it. The *Bostonnais* then gave up the idea of escalading the third barrier, and took refuge in the houses, opening the windows and firing through, in all directions. They thus approached from house to house, and had they not met with opposition, they would have reached the house which formed the corner of the barrier, but Mr. Dumas, who was a Captain, gave the order to storm this house instant—M. Dambourges, by the aid of the ladder taken from the enemy, and followed by several Canadians, entered by one of the windows, and broke through the gable window of a house, wherein, he found a number of *Bostonnais*. Discharging first his fire-lock, he flung himself in, flourishing his bayonet, followed by a number of Canadians, full of spirit like himself; the inmates, panic struck, surrendered.

About this time, General Guy Carleton, sent by Palace Gate, a detachment of 200 men, under Capt. Laws, to cut off the retreat of the enemy, if he attempted to get back, and place them between two fires. Our men in Sault-au-Matelot street, were immediately advised of this movement; it inspired them with new ardor. Capt. Laws, with his 200 men, marched to the other (the eastern) end of Sault-au-Matelot street, from Palace Gate, and entered a house where the officers of the invading army were holding a council of war; several of them instantly drew their swords to despatch him; he then said he had under him twelve hundred men outside, and that unless they instantly surrendered, they would all be cut to pieces without mercy. Some of them looking out of the window, saw what they took to be a large force of British, though it numbered but 200 men; they then made terms with Capt. Laws, and gave themselves up as prisoners. This saved his life. As the Canadians were at the end of Sault-au-Matelot street, on the lower town side and kept up a constant fire on the *Bostonnais*, they heard a voice saying "*Canadians, cease firing, else you will hit your friends,*" at first it was thought it was merely a ruse on the part of the foe, and as the firing was still kept up, the same words were repeated. The firing then stopped, and the voices of some of our own people were distinguished; they had been taken prisoners by the enemy; at the same time, the *Bostonnais* sued for quarter, saying that they surrendered; some of them threw their arms out of the doors and windows; the others, under the effect of fear, hid in cellars and garrets; the greater portion presented the stocks of their fire-locks. The fight lasted two hours."

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the narrative furnished by Simon Sanguinet, a Montreal lawyer, who arrived in Quebec, on the 15th May, 1776.

Let us hear Col. Caldwell; writing in the spring of 1776 to his friend Gen. James Murray, in England, he thus describes the attack:

“The burning of my house led me into this digression. The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work was taken prisoner by some of the enemy’s flying parties, and a few days after, General Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember, at Quebec,) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campbell, quarter master-general, arrived at Holland’s house (now the rebel head-quarters.) We were not idle, in the mean time, in town: we got the merlons and embrasures repaired; platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the Lower Town, and at Sault-au-Matelot, and at the other side, at Prés-de-Ville, which, you may remember, is on the further side of the King’s wharf, past the old King’s forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon. In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow, and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which, intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9 pounders, and then sent a flag of truce which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King’s mercy, which, indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown into the town on arrows, directed to the——and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurrility. He then opened his battery, which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to *Sans Bruit*, but without any effect; and Arnold’s corps, which took post in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rifle companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant’s house,* and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismounted

* Grant’s house stood about the centre of St. Roch.

by the superior fire from the town. About the 23rd, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought us the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared, and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec on Christmas day; and in public orders he promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, which we afterwards found was true. We had before kept a good look out, but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off guard, ordered to be accoutered, with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points, to take their rest, in the same manner also. They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Captain Frazer, who was captain of the main guard, and returning from his rounds, told us that there was a brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took,) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond, and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be) after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance, —saw there was nothing serious intended, and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to *Port Louis*. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St. John's Gate, when I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matelot, and had got into the Lower Town. I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party to wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusiliers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at the Sault-au-Matelot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town, and on my way passed by the picket drawn up under the field officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of 47th, and now Lieut-Governor of Gaspé. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town.

where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matelot, but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matelot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier, and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits. I posted people in the different houses that commanded the street of Sault-au-Matelot; some in the house where Levy, the Jew, formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusileers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side as it were to come down by; that was useful to us. I ordered it to be pulled away and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matelot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges, an officer of McLean's corps, * with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets, driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matelot street on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses. I had a narrow escape, for going at day-break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there they asked, "Who is there"? At first I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were next door to them, and answered "a friend"—Who are you? they answered "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them: the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side:

* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named Charland, distinguished himself, together with Capt. Dumas and Lt. Dambourges.

our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in in such numbers, that we opened the barrier, and they all gave themselves up on that side, while the party that made the sortie were busy in the same manner on the other side of the post and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not a shot fired at them, and just arrived on that end of the post, the enemy surprised at the time the officer I sent to take possession of our old post, arrived with a small party, supported by Nairne with 100 men! thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 men wounded, and about 400 made prisoners."

One account limits the casualties on the British side, to five privates killed, two wounded; to which must be added Captain Anderson, who had previously held a commission in the Royal Navy, and a Mr. Fraser, a master-carpenter; doubtless there were many others. A Journal, quoted by W. Smith, the historian, gives great praise to the regulars, the militia, the seamen: "The Royal Fusiliers, under Captain Owen, distinguished themselves, the Royal Emigrants behaved like Veterans." "The French militia shewed no backwardness; a handful of them stood the last at Sault au-Matlot; overcome by numbers, they were obliged to retreat to the barrier." Welcome, my friends! your praise was not sung every day, in English ears, in these troublous times.

"From December (1st), 1775, to the 6th May, 1776, according to Sanguinet, the Bostonnais fired seven hundred and eighty cannon shots on the city; they threw one hundred and eighty small shells of 15, 18, 20, 25, 30 pounds, with the exception of five or six shells of 50 to 60 lbs.: their balls were mostly all of 9 lbs. weight. During the same interval, Quebec fired, including the shots to clean the guns, ten thousand four hundred and sixty-six shots—nine hundred and ninety-six shells—from 30, 40, 50 to 130 lbs.

weight—others of 160, 175, 200 lbs., and some of 300 lbs. weight, and six fire-pots, which set fire to four houses in St. Roch suburbs.”—(*Sanguinet's Journal*, p. 130.)

The blockade lasted from 4th December, 1775, to 6th May, 1776: the chief incidents in the interval we find recorded in the Siege Journals under the heading of: “innumerable houses in St. Rocque and St. John Suburbs, burnt by Arnold's soldiery, to cut off the supply of fire-wood from the garrison.” Frequent ball practice between the enemy's piquets in St. John Suburbs and at Menut's Tavern, and the garrison: occasional desertions from the 95 American prisoners who had enlisted, and some of the Royal Emigrants disappearing, to which may be added several false alarms. Where Prescott Gate was built in 1797, there existed, in 1775, a rough structure of pickets;—Hope Gate, erected and named by Col. Hope eleven years after, did not of course exist in 1775—this is why Capt. Laws and his party were sent by Palace Gate.

Never was there a more utter rout than that of the heroes of Ticonderoga—Crown Point—Fort St. John—Fort Chambly—Montreal—Sorel—Three Rivers, &c. The Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, with his Aides-de-Camp, McPherson, Jacob Cheesman, and some dozens of others, fell at Près-de-Ville. Col. Arnold, * wounded in the leg, was conveyed from Sault-au-Matelot street by the Rev. Samuel Spring, the Chaplain of the force, and by Matthew Ogden (afterwards General M. Ogden), whilst Hendricks, and others of his chief officers, were shot, and his second in command, Lt.-Col. Green, the two Majors, Bigelow and Return J. Meigs, Adjutant Febezer and Capt.

* Arnold was thirty-four years of age at the storming of Quebec in 1775. He was called a double traitor—first to England, next to America, having offered to surrender West Point to the English, for £33,000 and the retention of the rank he then held in the American army. He was born in Norwich, Conn., and died (near Brompton, London,) 18th June, 1801, aged 60 years.

Matthew Duncan, and some four hundred and twenty odd officers and privates were taken prisoners.

In order to render more clear the mode of attack and defence, on Sault-au-Matelot Barriers, I have prepared the foregoing rough sketch, showing, as near as possible, the locality in 1775, and its present state. The eastern termination of *Little Sault-au-Matelot Street* or *Dog Lane* is less abrupt than formerly. Figure 5 denotes the site of Lymeburner's house, where our men were. The wharf in rear, provided in 1775 with cannon, existed, so I am told, as late as 1823, and was occupied by the Warehouses of the Hudson Bay Co.; the Inland Revenue offices, and other buildings in St. James Street, have since taken the place of the St. Lawrence. From the title-deeds of property in my possession, there can be no doubt as to the site of Lymeburner's house, though I have failed to discover the site of the house, which Caldwell in his narrative calls "the house of Levy, the Jew." Where was, in 1775, Lymeburner's * house, now stands, since 1863, the stately structure known as the Quebec Bank.

I have my doubts, whether there really existed a "Third Barrier," though on the statement of Sanguinet, I have shown in the sketch a "Third one." However valuable the testimony of Mr. Sanguinet, the Montreal advocate, may be, as bearing on the incidents which took place in the latter city during his residence there in the winter of 1775-6, having only reached Quebec on the 15th May, 1776, his testimony as to the Quebec incidents of the preceding winter, is not like Caldwell's, that of an eye witness—it is merely secondary evidence.

* There were three Lymeburners: John, the proprietor of the St. Peter Street house, who was lost at sea in the fall of 1775; Adam, his brother, who succeeded to him—the able delegate sent to England to oppose the New Constitution of 1791, dividing Canada into two Provinces. He died in England as late as 1836; and Matthew Lymeburner (Lymeburner & Crawford); he was yet alive in 1816. None, that I am aware of, left children in Quebec.

Tradition points out as the house, at the eastern end of *Little Sault-au-Matelot* Street, in which Major Nairne and Lieut. Dambourgès entered, a small two-story Tavern removed a few years back and replaced by "No. 5 Fire Station." According to the narrative of Capt. Simeon Thayer, one of Arnold's officers, who formed part of the 427 prisoners taken, "the Continental troops of Arnold were, for upwards of four hours, victorious of the Lower Town, and had taken about 130 prisoners," when the fortune of war turned against them. His description of the capture of the First Barrier, guard and piquet, is worthy of notice:

"The front," says he, "having got lost by a prodigious snow-storm, I undertook to pilot them (Arnold's party), having measured the works before and knowing the place. But coming to the Barrier, two field pieces played briskly on us that were there. But on their drawing back to re-charge, Capt. Morgan and myself, quickly advancing through the Ports, seized them with 60 men, rank and file, which was their main guard, and made them prisoners. Immediately afterwards, advancing towards a picket that lay further up the street, where there was a company of the most responsible citizens of Quebec, found their Captain drunk, took them likewise prisoners, and taking their dry arms for our own use, and laying ours up in order to dry them, being wet, and advancing, by which time our whole party got into the First Barrier. We rallied our men and strove to scale the second. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, we got some of our ladders up, but were obliged to retreat, our arms being wet, and scarcely one in ten would fire; whereon some did retreat back to the First Barrier we had taken, and when we came there we found we could not retreat without exposing ourselves to the most imminent danger."

They fell into the clutches of Capt. Laws. It is clear, from Capt. Thayer's statement, that it was neither a British nor a French militia officer who was captain of the piquet, past the First Barrier, "further up the street," where both the captain and piquet were taken prisoners—but Capt. McLeod, of the 84th or Royal Emigrants. Of whom was the piquet composed? of the "most responsible citizens of Quebec." Their nationality is not here given. Did this piquet, commanded by a British Regular officer, constitute the guard of the "Second Barrier?" * Probably not, else if it had, the

* Would it be Col. Voyer?

piquet being made prisoners of war, what would have prevented Arnold's men from scaling the Second Barrier? Ladies and Gentlemen, notwithstanding all the minute details submitted, there is yet, you see, some margin for conjectures and hypotheses, and each nationality will set up a theory as to who defended the Second Barrier, in the beginning of the fray, before Caldwell, the Commander of the British Militia, Nairne, Dambourgès and Dumas struck out for Death or Victory, though this is a minor point.

You see in the Sketch the houses marked 4 . 4 . 4 . 4 in Dog Lane, from the back windows of which Morgan and Lamb's riflemen could pink our brave boys, sheltered in Lymeburner's house.

If time permitted, there are a thousand anecdotes and *traits* illustrative of those warlike times, I could relate you. I should tell how two sturdy New England wives followed their husbands, through the wilderness of forest and snow—to Quebec; one surviving her husband, who, having fallen ill, had to be left to his fate in these inhospitable regions, round the Kennebec: the other, Mrs. Grier, a matronly person, was the wife of Sergeant Grier, "a large, virtuous and respectable woman." The other was "a pretty Jemima," the spouse of private James Warner. * Poor Warner, alas! you died from eating too much.

* James Warner had a most lamentable fate. He was young, handsome in appearance, not more than twenty-five years of age; he was athletic and seemed to surpass in bodily strength. Yet, withall, he was a dolt. His wife Jemina was beautiful, though coarse in manners. In December, the wife or widow of poor James Warner came to our quarters in the low grounds (near the General Hospital?) bearing her husband's rifle, his powder-horn and pouch. She appeared as fresh and rosy as ever. Her husband, she said, was a great eater. His stores of provisions, after the partition, at the head of the Chaudière, were in a little time consumed. The consummate wife ran back from the march, and found her beloved husband sitting at the foot of a tree, where he said he was determined to die. The tender-hearted woman attended her ill-fated husband several days, urging his march forward; he again sat down. Finding all her solicitations could not induce him to rise, she left him, having placed all the bread in her possession between his legs, with a canteen of water. She bore his arms and ammunition to Quebec, where she recounted the story. The nephew of Natania (an Indian guide) afterwards at Quebec, confirmed the relation of this good woman. For when going up, and returning down the river, with our inestimable friend, McClelland; she urged him, suffused in tears, to take her husband on board. He and many others lost their lives by an inconsiderate gluttony: they ate as much at a meal as ought to have been the provision of four days.—(Henry's Journal, p. 198.)

A young friend of mine, from Ottawa, Mr. J. M. O'Leary, sends me some quaint bits of history, anent some Quebec heroines of the period, several of whom received pensions from the British Government as late as 1818. Some incurred incredible risks in bearing letters to or from Quebec—others were captured by Arnold and Montgomery's scouts. We read of a Miss Charlotte or Elizabeth Loiselle, who for meritorious services received a pension of £20 per annum. On this roll of merit, we find widows Dambourgès, Lortie, Cramahé and Vallerand.

It is likewise refreshing to find that the bitterness engendered by this deadly strife did not poison the sympathy of the victors. Thus, on New Year's day, 1776, the unfortunate prisoners of war immured in the Seminary and the Récollet Monastery were treated to a whole hogshead of English porter, with bread and cheese, by the Lower Town merchants.

The praiseworthy efforts of the *Seigneur* of Crane Island, Capt. de Beaujeu—of the *Seigneur* of St. Jean Port Joly, de Gaspé—of the *Seigneur* of St. Thomas, Couillard—of William Ross, late of the 78th Highlanders—with the aid of brave *Curé* Bailly, failed to rout the invaders at St. Pierre, during the winter, and brought on their loyal heads, dire disaster and defeat. You know, of course, how staunch the *Seigneurs* and R. C. Clergy were to the British Crown in 1775-6. I hear some one saying, that their loyalty meant security of "*rentes et dimes*," and that the animosity with which Uncle Sam, viewed the concessions granted by the Home Government to the Canadians by the Quebec Act of 1774, had opened the eyes of the *Seigneurs* and *Curés*. It is hard at this distance of time to judge of their motives: and though the Americans had warmly condemned the British for upholding * the Roman Catholic Religion in

† The favor which England extended to the R. C. faith in Canada in 1774, compared to the disabilities and penal statutes affecting those who professed it in other parts of her dom-

Canada, no doubt, in their zeal to annex the Province, they would have overlooked the Roman Catholic and many other faiths—We have merely to deal with the fact that *Seigneurs* and Clergy were loyal.

* Guy Carleton was the hero of Quebec. (Applause).

I shall not trespass any longer on your time; you have had three versions of the Sault-au-Matelot assault, two by eye witnesses, one by a contemporary. I do not know whether you have been as much struck, as I was with the candid account of that youthful Volunteer, John Joseph Henry, who lived to see himself President of a Pennsylvania Court of Justice, and who remained for nine months a prisoner of war, first in the Recollet Monastery, which was burnt in 1796, and the remainder of the winter in the Dauphin prison near St. John's Gate; he has described in a very attractive style, how his countrymen deprived of their leaders—hemmed in on all sides, surrendered or bravely fell before Guy Carleton's Musqueteers.

You have also heard Sanguinet, a staunch loyalist, picture the fiery French, forgetful of their grievances, led by Dupré and Dambourgès, sealing with their blood the covenant, that oath of allegiance, sworn by them sixteen years previous, to Britain.

Lastly, Col. Hy. Caldwell, a companion in arms of the immortal Wolfe, with becoming pride, has related how British pluck—British hearts—British bayonets upheld the glorious flag of England, one hundred years ago, in this most ancient, most historical, most picturesque old city. All races you saw that day, united like one man, to hurl the invader from their doors.

There remains for me but one word to add, one hope to express. Should the voice of our country ever again summon her sons, to her rescue, may they prove as united, as brave, as true to themselves, as loyal to their hearths and homes, as the men of Quebec of 1775! (Prolonged applause.)

* General Carleton was knighted for his gallantry in defending Quebec in 1775; he became Lord Dorchester, in recognition of the services rendered subsequently to England, at New York, though he was second in command to General Burgoyne. He died in 1808.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

BY MR. STEVENSON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We are really greatly indebted to Mr. LeMoine for the facts of History which he has imparted to us to-night: indeed Canada owes a debt of gratitude to him for his unwearied industry in rescuing from oblivion every particular of our history which may prove interesting, encouraging and valuable to ourselves and to posterity.

We cannot help reflecting at this moment how very different might have been the destiny of Canada but for the bravery of a few men, of British and French Canadian origin, who fought against the insurgents for the maintenance of a connection which was dearer to them than life. I will not say that the Republican form of Government, which Montgomery ventured to force upon us, is a great evil; on the contrary, there is much good in it; and the highest conception of that form of Government contains the elements of real freedom; and is based, not on feeling, but on the thought and self consciousness of man recognizing the spiritual character of his existence, Canadians, however, of both French and British origin, in the exercise of freedom, in the exercise of their rights, preferred to live under a Monarchical form of Government, which gives to the state an immovable centre, and consigns, ostensibly, sovereign possession to a dynastic family in trust. In fine, they preferred to remain in fraternal union with the people of Great Britain; and to form part of the Great British Empire, of which Canada constitutes now not the least influential or least important portion.

With regard to the American Revolution, it has been well said that "It is very seldom men come to one opinion concerning the character and the consequences of a great contest, the event of which was decided by the sword, after a long war, which had been preceded by a much longer and not less bitter combat of words and phrases. The war of the American Revolution, so far as it concerned Americans and the people of Great Britain, was a civil war, and whatever is great and good in its history is the common property of both. The valor of the two armies belongs to the common stock of the martial virtues of that race. The issue of the contest was in a measure fixed by physical facts before a gun was fired. Great Britain was too far removed from the scene of action to admit of their superiority in numbers and wealth being made available in an age when steam navigation was unknown. The people of America and the people of Great Britain can look back to the American Revolution, if not with complacency, at least with calmness, and deduce, I hope, from its history, the sound conclusion, never again to engage on a contest with men of their own blood."

The true theatre of history, I mean the history of human development and civilization, rather than of wars, is the temperate or northern half of the temperate zone. When pressing needs are satisfied, man turns to the more general and more elevated; but in the extreme zones, such pressure may be said never to cease, never to be warded off; men are constantly impelled to direct their attention to the elements, to the burning rays of the sun, or to the icy frost.

On this northern half of America, we witness a state of general prosperity; and in our own portion of it, an increase of industry, and population, civil order, and firm freedom. Where our lot is cast, the severity of the climate renders the struggle of life more arduous perhaps than it

is in the western, and more temperate parts of the Dominion. On the other hand we claim to possess physical advantages which go far to counterbalance the disadvantages which we labor under in other respects. I refer to the great maritime high way to the ocean, and other high ways in process of construction, which, when completed, may tend to restore to our old city, a great measure of its former importance, prosperity, activity and trade.

Improvements are also in contemplation for the preservation of our historic monuments, and the embellishment of the city by using effectively the natural advantages of its site—blending the work of nature with that of art, for purposes of utility and adornment. These improvements we hope to see soon begun and completed.

We are indebted to our present distinguished Governor General of Canada for suggesting the improvements, and providing the plans, which if followed and realized, will render Quebec the most remarkable and probably the most interesting city on this continent. Let me add, that we are also indebted to our energetic and able Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq., for seconding the efforts of His Excellency; and to the Members of the Corporation and others for their cordial co-operation in furtherance of the great object in view.

I cannot close my remarks without acknowledging on behalf of the society, the receipt of a most interesting sheet with our *Morning Chronicle* on Xmas day, headed, "Quebec Improvements," in which the subject is remarkably well handled by the Editor. The typography for the sheet is perfect, and the illustrations are artistic and executed in good style—the whole reflecting infinite credit upon the taste and enterprise of the proprietor of the paper. We thank him for it. The original plans, admirably designed

and executed by Mr. Lynn, the civil engineer employed by Lord Dufferin, are on the table in our library, and may be seen by any lady or gentleman desirous of examining them.

I have now to acknowledge the services of many members and friends of the society who have contributed in various ways to the success of the celebration this evening; and we are particularly indebted to one of our members, Captain Lampson, and to the artillerymen attached to the military store department, for the decorations in our library rooms. The principal of Morrin College kindly accorded us the use of the lecture room in which I have now the pleasure of addressing you; and the beautiful banners with which it is draped are the property of the St. Andrew's society of this city. Flags have been kindly lent to us by Messrs. Dinning & Webster, without which we should have made but a poor display of buntine in celebration of the centennial.

It remains for me now only to thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the pleasure your company has afforded us this evening; and for the kind consideration you have shown in listening so attentively, and so patiently, to all we have told you to-night about so memorable an event in the history of our country, as the defence of this fortress, on the 31st December, 1775.

The company were then invited to view the sword of General Montgomery, suspended with crape, under a star of bayonets, in the Library of the Society, after which the guests were conducted to the Refreshment Rooms, where ice-creams, jellies, blanc manges, and other delicacies were provided for them.

Music continued until the departure of the company.

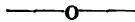
PROGRAMME.

MÉLANGES.	{ "British Grenadiers,"	.....
	"Canadian Quadrilles,"	..... <i>St. Germain</i>
SELECTION,	"Scotch Airs,"	..... <i>Wallace</i>
SELECTION,	"Irish Airs,"	..... <i>Sullivan</i>

VIVE LA CANADIENNE.—GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The thanks of the Society were given to the Band for their kind services on the occasion — and the Bandsmen were invited to partake of refreshments.

Thus passed a pleasant meeting commemorating a memorable event in the History of Canada.



The celebration of the Centenary at the Literary and Historical Society was followed by a similar demonstration at the Institut Canadien of Quebec, on the 30th, which went off with great *éclat*, and by a Ball at the Citadel, on the 31st, given by the Commandant, Colonel Strange, R.A., and Mrs. Strange, who entertained a large number of guests dressed in the costume of 1775.

The following verses, contributed by a Montreal lady, were made an appropriate introduction to the festivities:

L I N E S

ON

THE CENTENNIAL,

1775-1875.

DEDICATED TO

LIEUT.-COLONEL T. BLAND STRANGE,

COMMANDANT OF QUEREC.

Hark ! hark! the iron tongue of time
Clangs forth "a hundred years,"
And Stadacona on her "heights"
Sits shedding mournful tears!

Oh! spirits fled, oh! heroes dead
Oh! ye were slain for me,
And I shall never cease to weep,
Ah! Wolfe, brave soul for thee.

Again the foe are made to know
The Force of British steel;
Montgomery and his comrades brave
Fall 'neath the cannon's peal.

Sudden she sprang upon her feet,
With wild dishevelled hair—
"What are those sounds I hear so sweet
Upon the trembling air?

The frowning Citadel afar
Is all ablaze with light,
And martial notes, but not of war,
Awake the slumbering night."

Then on she sped, with airy flight,
Across th' historic "plains,"
And there beheld a splendid sight—
Valor with beauty reigns!

Where fearless Carleton stood at bay
A hundred years ago,
Under the gallant Strange's away
They still defy the foe.

"My sons! my sons! I see ye now,
Filled with the ancient fires,
Your manly features flashing forth
The spirit of your sires!

Yet here, surrounded by the flower
Of Canada's fair dames,
Ye are as gentle in these bowers
As brave amidst war's flames.

Long may ye live to tell the tale
Transmitted to your mind,
And should again your country call
Like valor she will find."

E. L. M.

One hundred years have passed away, and again soldiers and civilians in the costume of 1775 move about in the old fortress, some in the identical uniforms worn by their ancestors at the time of the memorable repulse.

The Commandant, in the uniform of his corps in 1775, and the ladies in the costume of the same period, received their guests as they entered the Ball-room—the approaches to which were tastefully decorated. Half way between the dressing and receiving rooms is a noble double staircase, the sides of which are draped with Royal standards intermingled with the white and golden lilies of France, Our Dominion Ensign, and the stars and stripes of the neighbouring Republic. On either hand of the broad steps are stands of arms and warlike implements. Here too, facing one, when ascending the steps, is the trophy designed by Captain Larue of the “B” Battery. The huge banners fell in graceful folds about the stacks of musketry piled on the right and left above the drums and trumpets; from the centre was a red and black pennant (the American colors of 1775), immediately underneath was the escutcheon of the United States, on which heavily craped, was hung the hero’s sword—the weapon with which one hundred years before this night, Montgomery had beckoned on his men. Underneath this kindly tribute to the memory of the dead General, were the solemn prayerful initials of the *Requiescat in Pace*. At the foot of the trophy were two sets of old flint muskets and accoutrements, piled, and in the centre a brass cannon captured from the Americans in 1775, which bears the lone star and figure of an Indian—the arms of the State of Massachusetts. On either side of this historical tableau, recalling as it did, so vividly, the troublous times of long ago, telling the lesson so speakingly of the patience and pluck, the sturdy manhood and bravery of a century gone by, were stationed as sentries, two splendid specimens of the human race, stalwart giants considerably over six feet in height, who belonged formerly to the famous Cent Gardes of Napoleon III, but now in the ranks of B. Battery. The stern impassiveness of their faces and the immobility of their figures were quite in keeping with the solemn trust they had to guard.

Dancing commenced: dance succeeded dance, and the happy hours flew past till the midnight hour, which would add another year to our earthly existence. About that time there were mysterious signs and evidences that something unusual was going to happen. There was a hurrying to and fro of the *cognoscenti* to their respective places, but so noiselessly and carefully were the preparations made for a *coup de théâtre*, that the gay throng who perpetually circulated through the rooms took little heed, when all of a sudden the clear clarion notes of a trumpet sounding thrilled the hearts of all present. A panel in the wainscoating of the lower dancing room opened as if by magic, and out jumped a jaunty little trumpeter, with the slashed and decorated jacket and busby of a hussar. The blast he blew rang in tingling echoes far and wide, and, a second later, the weird piping and drumming, in a music now strange to us, was heard in a remote part of the Barracks. Nearer and nearer every moment came the sharp shrill notes of the fifes and the quick detonation of the drum stick taps. A silence grew over the bright *cortege*, the notes of the band died away, the company clustered in picturesque groups around the stairs where was placed the thin steel blade, whose hilt one century gone by, was warmed by the hand of Montgomery. The rattle of the drums came closer and closer, two folding doors opened suddenly, and through them stalked in grim solemnity the "Phantom Guard" led by the intrepid Sergeant Hugh McQuarters. Neither regarding the festives decorations, nor the bright faces around them, the guard passed through the assemblage as if they were not; on through saloon and passage; past Ball Room and conversation parlour, they glided with measured step and halted in front of the Montgomery trophy, and paid military honors to the memento of a hero's valiant—if unsuccessful act. Upon their taking close order, the Bombardier, Mr. Dunn, who impersonated the dead Sergeant, and actually wore the sword and blood-stained belts of a

man who was killed in action in 1775, addressed Colonel Strange, who stood at the bottom of the staircase already mentioned, as follows:—

" Commandant! we rise from our graves to-night
On the Centennial, of the glorious fight,
At midnight, just one hundred years ago,
We soldiers fought and beat the daring foe;
And kept our dear old flag aloft, unfurled,
Against the Armies of the Western world.
Although our bodies now should be decayed,
At this, our visit, be not sore dismayed;
Glad are we to see our Fortress still defended,
By Canadians, French and British blended,
But Colonel, now I'll tell you, why we've risen,
From out of the bosom of the earth's cold prison—
We ask of you to pay us one tribute,
By firing from these heights, one last salute."

The grave sonorous words of the martial request were hardly uttered ere through the darkness of the night, the great cannon boomed out a soldier's welcome and a brave man's requiem—causing women's hearts to throb, and men's to exult at the warlike sound. While the whole air was trembling with the sullen reverberation and the sky was illuminated with rockets and Roman candles, Colonel Strange responded to his ghostly visitant, in the following original composition:

" 'Tis Hugh McQuarters, and his comrades brave,
To-night have risen from their glorious grave—
To you we owe our standard still unfurled,
Yet flaunts aloft defiance to the world:
God grant in danger's hour we prove as true,
In duty's path, as nobly brave as you.
This night we pass, in revel, dance and song,
The weary hours you watched so well and long.
Mid storm and tempest met the battle shock,
Beneath the shadow of the beetling rock:
When foemen found their winding sheet of snow,
Where broad St. Lawrence wintry waters flow.

* Bombadier Dunn, who impersonated the dead sergeant, Hugh McQuarters, is the author of these lines.

Yes! once again those echoes shall awake,
In thunders, for our ancient comrades sake;
The midnight clouds by battle bolts be riven,
Response like Frontenac's may yet be given
If foeman's foot our sacred soil shall tread.
We seek not history's bloody page to turn,
For us no boastful words aggressive burn,
Forgotten, few, but undismayed we stand,
The guardians of this young Canadian land.
Oh, blessed peace! thy gentle pinions spread,
Until all our battle flags be furl'd,
In the poet's federation of the world.

For us will dawn no new centennial day—
Our very memories will have passed away.
Our beating hearts be still, our bodies dust;
Our joys and sorrows o'er, our swords but rust.
Your gallant deeds will live in history's page,
In fire side stories, told to youth by age;
But sacred writ still warns us yet again.
How soldier's science and his valour's vain
Unless the Lord of Hosts the City keep;
The mighty tremble and the watchmen sleep,
Return grim soldiers to your silent home
Where we, when duty's done will also come."

It will not be easy for any of those fortunate enough to have witnessed the impressive and natural way in which this *coup de théâtre* was arranged ever to forget it. Taken either as a *tableau vivant* of a possible historic event, or as an example of truthful spirited eloquence, on both sides, it was a perfect success.

At the suggestion of the resident American Consul, Hon. W. C. Howells, the old house in St. Louis Street, in which the body of General Montgomery was laid out on the 1st January, 1776, was decorated with the American flag, and brilliantly illuminated that night.

THE JUSTINIAN PANDECTS—THEIR ORIGIN,
PROGRESS AND COMPLETION.

PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY,

By R. S. M. BOUCHETTE, Esq., 2ND V. P.

THE subject which it is my intention to bring under your consideration this evening is, as announced in the public notice given by the Society, "THE JUSTINIAN PANDECTS."

As thus foreshadowed, however, the subject assumes so broad and comprehensive a shape, that I hasten to explain that the paper which I am about to read, aims not at any recondite investigation into or learned exposition of the laws themselves, contained in those renowned volumes of legal wisdom, known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*; my present purpose aspires to nothing beyond giving a brief and succinct historical outline of the origin, progress and completion, of that great legal work as achieved by the Emperor JUSTINIAN in the early part of the 6th Century of the Christian Era.

Myself, but a very humble, though somewhat ardent, votary on the threshold of that vast Temple of Jurisprudence reared by JUSTINIAN, I have little more than contemplated with admiration some of its legal and philosophical splendours; but I was early taught to reverence the laws of the Roman Empire, and to make a knowledge of those laws the foundation of my professional studies.

The humble disciple of an eminent Jurist and Orator, one who would have ranked with the SCÆVOLAS in the Eternal City during the palmiest days of its forensic glory, I had at least the inestimable advantage of finding in him a guide and patron, who was at once an accomplished Scholar and profound Legist; one to whom and to whose teachings I am indebted for the deep interest I so early felt in the study of the Civil Law. I need but mention his name to a Canadian audience, and especially in Quebec, to obtain universal assent to this passing estimate of his transcending forensic powers, to which he added great benevolence of heart. I allude to the late lamented ANDREW STUART, Solicitor General, whose memory is still so fondly cherished in Canada.

Apologizing for this digression, I will, with your leave, proceed with my subject.

THE CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES of which I shall more fully speak in the sequel, appeared in Constantinople, and were promulgated as the Laws of the Roman Empire, between the years 527 and 534 of the present Era, or nearly thirteen Centuries after the foundation of Rome. By the Code and the Pandects all other antecedent laws were solemnly abrogated, and so rigorous, indeed, was the injunction to abstain from any application of the repealed laws, that the breach of that injunction was declared to be a crime amounting to *Fraud* or *Forgery*—*falsi reus est qui abrogatis legibus utitur*.

It will be, however, neither uninteresting nor uninteresting, to take a brief retrospect of Roman Jurisprudence, antecedently to the days of JUSTINIAN, and to examine what were the laws thus bodily consigned to oblivion, after escaping that wide and desolating ruin which the ruthless hand of the barbarian spread over fair Italy, and which shook the

Western Empire to its very foundations and succeeded at last in its total overthrow towards the close of the 5th Century. Nor had the new Code which had been gleaned from the wisdom of the ancient legal lore of Rome, perils of a less imminent character to encounter from the degenerate and barbarized Greeks, the Persians, the Tartars and other Asiatic nations who consummated the extinction of the Empire of the East in 1453, when Mahomet the Second stormed and plundered Constantinople, banished the insignia of the Cross, and in the place of that emblem of Christianity exalted the Crescent which now adorns the Mosques and Minarets of the far famed BYZANTIUM.

That these abrogated laws were voluminous, we are justified in believing upon the authority of JUSTINIAN himself, who informs us in his solemn confirmation of the PANDECTS, that nearly 2000 Books, containing upwards of 3,000,000 of lines (*tricenties dena millia versuum*) were necessarily explored by the compilers of the Digest and condensed within the compass of 50 books and about 150,000 lines.

In the first book of the Digest, we find a succinct account of the origin and progress of the Civil Law, and of the succession of magistrates and eminent Jurists who flourished from the days of PAPIRIUS down to the time of JUSTINIAN. Borrowed from the writings of the celebrated Pomponius and followed by Gaius, this title offers at once a clear and compendious sketch of the inception, advancement and completion of that herculean legal achievement transmitted to the present generation as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. I could not therefore, follow a more judicious course than by adopting as my text, this passage of the PANDECTS, in tracing an outline of the History of Civil Jurisprudence.

Although the primitive Government of Rome was an absolute monarchy, the wisdom and magnanimity of ROMULUS, admitted the people, at an early period, to a voice

in Legislation. The Sovereign, indeed, reserved to himself the exclusive right of proposing laws; but these laws were submitted to the assent of the people, assembled in the thirty *Curia* or Wards into which the City was divided. It was not until the reign of TARQUIN THE PROUD, whose tyranny and vices provoked the expulsion of the Kings, that any attempt seems to have been made, of which at least we have any knowledge, to collect and arrange into something like Order, the Royal ordinances or enactments, and such other laws as had obtained the sanction of Magisterial decisions or had grown out of universal usage.

The compilation of PUBLIUS or SEXTUS PAPIRIUS, in the reign of TARQUIN THE PROUD, is the earliest essay of the kind we have on record; but we have at this day a few fragments only of the labours of this eminent lawyer, whose Digest was denominated the *Jus Civilis Papirianum*, * which has transmitted his name with honor to posterity.

The expulsion of Royalty seems to have been succeeded by a species of legal anarchy, the *Lex Tribunitia*, or tribunitial law, having formally annulled at one fell stroke all the Royal laws, and therefore subverted the authority of the Papirian Code or Digest, leaving the Romans, during a period of nearly 20 years, without any positive Rule for their governance, and compelling them to resort to the sole moral force of such customs, as naturally resulted from the complex relations arising out of a state of society.

* GIBBON, (from whom I have freely borrowed) in a learned chapter on Roman Jurisprudence, 8th Vol. of his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in a note on page 5, seems to doubt the existence of this code, and thinks that the *Jus Papirianum* of Granius Flaccus, quoted in the Digest, (l. l., Tit. XVI, leg. 144,) was not a commentary, but an original work compiled in the time of CÆSAR. But we may fairly believe that the profound PAUL, from whom this law is borrowed, would be exact in this respect, and would not use the positive language "*Granius Flaccus in libro de Jure Papiriano*," were he not quoting the commentary.

This order of things could not be long protracted in an age when the fame of SOLON and LYCURGUS had already given to ATHENS and LACEDÆMON so much celebrity as the favored seats of Legislative wisdom and moral philosophy. Under the solemn sanction of public authority, a mission to the Athenian Republic was therefore devised and carried out, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of their municipal laws, and of afterwards engrafting them upon the legal institutions of ROME. The laws thus copied, in so far as they were deemed applicable to the genius of the Roman people and the state of Roman society, were inscribed by the Decemvirs on Ten Tables of Brass, or Ivory or Wood, (*roboreas primum deinde Æreas*,) which were set up in the Forum for public instruction and commentary. To these were added, the following year, two other Tables, which supplied the omissions or deficiencies of the first Ten, and hence arose the denomination of the 12 TABLES OF THE ROMAN LAWS, so famous in the annals of History, and into which had been transferred so many of the wise precepts of the prince of Grecian Sages. † Nor

† I have followed in this passage, Pothier's prolegomena to the Justinian Pandects.

GIBBON, his famous work already quoted, (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, loc. cit.) rejects the truth of the Roman mission of the Decemvirs to Athens, and he founds his rejection upon the fact that the Grecian Historians of that period appeared ignorant not only of that famous Embassy, but even of the name and existence of Rome! He cites Herodotus, Thucydides, (A. U. C. 330, 350,) Theopompus, (A. U. C. 400,) and others; and adds that Pliny (III.9) gives to Theophrastus, who wrote A. U. C. 440, the credit of being the first Greek who diligently wrote anything of or concerning the Romans. Gibbon also thinks it improbable that the Patricians of Rome would have taken much trouble to copy the austere laws of a pure democracy. In a note by *Professor Warnkonig*, which is cited by MILMAN, in his learned Ed. of GIBBON, in reference to this passage, vol 4, p. 303, it would appear that Gibbon's opinion upon this point is "almost universally adopted," and he particularly mentions *Niebuhr* and *Hugo* as supporting it. Nevertheless, the account of this mission is so circumstantially given, that it is difficult to treat it as fabulous: "Sed tandem ex T. Romulii sententia senatus consulto facto, quod plebiscito confirmatum est, missi Legati Athenas S. P. OSTUMIUS, A. MANLIUS, ET P. SULPICIUS; jussique inclytas SOLONIS leges describere, et aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere: unde leges Romanorum instituta convenienter conficerentur.

should I omit here the mention of the wise Ephesian who about this time was thrown as an exile upon the Italian shores, to whom is ascribed the honor not of the profound exposition only, of the lore of the 12 TABLES, but the merit also of having contributed to the amelioration and amendment of the laws they prescribed. The name of HERMODORUS is honorably recorded in the Pandects, and is mentioned with veneration by ancient and modern Historians.

The legal discussions of the Forum, the interpretation of the laws by learned Jurists, the judgments of Roman Magistrates pronounced in particular cases, subsequently gave rise to the *Lex Non Scripta* or common law, or what was specially designated and understood as the *Jus Civile*; just as in England or the United States of America the legal arguments of eminent Counsel, the dicta of Judges, and the decisions of Courts, combine to produce the law of precedents, and to engraft on the *Lex Scripta* or positive law, as possessing a quasi binding authority, the vast accumulations of legal opinions and speculations collected in the voluminous reports of adjudged cases; reports which threaten, from their magnitude and rapid increase, to involve future generations in that confusion of law as a science, which preceded, in the Roman Empire, the compilations of Tribonian and his associates, and which eventually led to the necessity of that comprehensive and lucid system of codification, of which so brilliant an example is contained in the PANDECTS and the CODE.

"*Reversis jam Legatis cum legibus Atticis, &c.*—(Præf. ff. cap. 1, 2 de leg. XII Tab. art. 1 et "seq.)"

But stronger evidence still, that this decemviral mission is no mere myth is found in the "proofs" (*probationes*) of *Tabula 10 Fragm. leg. XII Tab.* which treats *de Jure sacre*. The language of CICERO lib. 2 de leg. is very clear: "*Postquam sumptuosa fieri funera et lamentabilia cepissent SOLONIS lege sublata sunt. QUAM LEGEM, HISEM PROPE VERBIS, NOSTRI VIRI IN DECIMAM TABULAM CONJECERUNT.*"

The organisation of Tribunals of Justice about the same time suggested the expediency of method in the procedure. The importance of *forms* became manifest, and hence arose the *Actiones Legis* or *Legitimæ Actiones*, which requires so strict an adherence to a prescribed form of words and certain specific symbolical acts, that any departure from the one or the other subjected the Promovent, Libellant or Prosecutor to a non-suit.

A. U. C. 446.—The *Actiones Legis* now became a momentous branch of Jurisprudence. But the Code which contained the Rules and rigid *formulae* prescribed for the prosecution of actions, or the exercise, indeed, of ordinary civil rights—was, it seems, sedulously withheld from the knowledge of the vulgar. Patricians and lawyers were alone in possession of or had access to this key to judicial procedure, the code which enjoined those forms being, it is said, mysteriously confided to the custody of some Patrician Pontiff. However, in the year of Rome 449, GNÆUS FLAVIUS, the son of a manumitted slave, and the secretary of APPIUS CLAUDIUS, (who was variously adorned with the cognomina of Centumanus, Crassus and Cæcus,) filched from his employer this important Code, and published it. This won for FLAVIUS great favor with the people, who marked their gratitude by exalting him to the several dignities of Tribune, Senator and Edile, whilst he moreover enjoyed the usurped honor of having the law recognized under the name of the *Jus Civile Flavianum*; which, whilst it immortalized an act of infidelity on his part towards his chief, has equally proclaimed his love paramount for the people, who had an undoubted right to a knowledge of the laws of procedure, with which they were stringently bound to comply. The morality of the case is a fit subject for the consideration and judgment of Casuists, and to them I leave it.

A. U. C. 553. — Subsequently, *Sextus Ælius* compiled

another work on the *Actiones Legis*, known as the *Jus Ælianum*.

Hitherto, Patrician influence had so preponderated in the *Centuriæ* or hundreds into which the Roman people were divided, the votes being based upon property, that the mass of the people became jealous of an order of things which *de facto* nullified their voice, and they insisted upon and carried that, in regard to the passing of laws, the votes should be taken by *tribes*. Nor did this important modification of Patrician Legislation, yield complete independence to the voter, until the occult suffrage of the ballot was introduced to relieve the embarrassed debtor from the fear or control of a rigid creditor, the client from that restraint contingent upon his respect for his advocate or patron, and the generality of voters from that influence which leads the populace to imitate, and follow in the wake of citizens, exalted to the honors of the State and enjoying authority among the people.

The laws thus enacted were denominated *Plebiscita*; but so great became the confusion arising out of the new form of legislation, and often so incongruous were the enactments, that under the dictatorship of Hortensius, they were for the most part revoked or amended, and the *Lege Hortensia* and the reformed *Plebiscita*, were then looked upon as, alone containing the legal Rule of action.

This paved the way of the supreme legislative authority of the Senate, and hence upon the CONSCRIPT FATHERS devolved the important and responsible task of enacting laws. The decrees of the Senate were called *Senatusconsulta* and became of great weight and authority among the people.

These laws were expounded and administered by the Roman Magistrates generally; but the Prætorian Edicts alone, went the length of supplying the defects of a law

as well as of explaining its ambiguities. These Edicts constituted what was termed, the *Jus Honorarium* as proceeding from the highest Juridical Functionary of the State, who was invested with special public honors and large judicial prerogatives.

It was to one of these Edicts, vastly more comprehensive in its scope than any others and more solemnly promulgated, that ROME was beholden for its first well digested CODE of LAWS. The reign of the Emperor HADRIAN was rendered famous as the epoch of the *Perpetual Edict*, * and the name

* In MILMAN'S "New Edition" of Gibbon, (Decl. and Fall R. E.) we find the following notes in Vol. IV pp. 312-313, in reference to the PERPETUAL EDICT. The 1st note is the learned Editor's ; the 2nd is one borrowed from Professor Warnkonig, to be found in a French translation of Chap. XLIV of Gibbon's work, cited:

1st. "Gibbon," observes Milman, "has fallen into an error, with Heineccius, and almost the whole literary world, concerning the real meaning of what is called the *perpetual edict* Hadrian. Since the Cornelian law, the edicts were perpetual, but only in this sense, that the prætor could not change them during the year of his magistracy. And although it appears that under Hadrian, the civilian Julianus made, or assisted in making, a complete collection of the edicts, (which certainly had been done likewise before Hadrian, for example, by Ofilius, qui diligenter edictum composuit,) we have no sufficient proof to admit the common opinion, that the Prætorian edict was declared perpetually unalterable by Hadrian. The writers on law subsequent to Hadrian (and among the rest Pomponius, in his Summary of the Roman Jurisprudence) speak of the edict as it existed in the time of Cicero. They would not certainly have passed over in silence so remarkable a change in the most important source of the civil law.—M.

2nd. Hugo has conclusively shown that the various passages in authors like Eutropius, are not sufficient to establish the opinion introduced by Heineccius. Compare Hugo, vol. ii. p. 78. A new proof of this is found in the Institutes of Gaius, who, in the first books of his work, expresses himself in the same manner, without mentioning any change made by Hadrian. Nevertheless, if it had taken place, he must have noticed it, as he does l. i. 8, the *responsa prudentum*, on the occasion of a rescript of Hadrian. There is no lacuna in the text. Why then should Gaius maintain silence concerning an innovation so much more important than that of which he speaks? After all, the question becomes of slight interest, since, in fact we find no change in the perpetual edict inserted in the Digest, from the time of Hadrian to the end of that epoch, except that made by Julian, (compare Hugo, l. c.) The later lawyers appear to follow, in their commentaries, the same text as their predecessors. It is natural to suppose, that, after the labors of so many men distinguished in jurisprudence, the framing of the edict must have attained such perfection, that it would have been difficult to have made any innova-

SALVIUS JULIANUS, the Roman Prætor, will be handed down with glory to civilized nations as the author of that celebrated ordinance.

From this period, the power of making laws for the Empire seems to have passed wholly into the hands of the Emperors. From the reign of AUGUSTUS to that of TRAJAN, the Cæsars appear to have contented themselves with the promulgation of their Edicts, through the intervention of Roman Magistrates or as Magistrates themselves, and in the decrees of the Senate we frequently find inserted with marks of peculiar respect, the Epistles and Orations of the Prince. HADRIAN, was the first of the Emperors who, at the beginning of the second century, yielding to the dictates of ambition, boldly assumed the plenitude of Legislative power.

Hence arose that multitude of Constitutions, Rescripts, Edicts and pragmatic sanctions which composed that large body of Roman Law, which was afterwards methodized and condensed into the three famous compilations known under the respective names of the GREGORIAN, the HERMOGENIAN and the THEODOSIAN CODES. The Gregorian covers the period from HADRIAN in 117 to VALERIAN in 254: The Hermogenian commences with the reign of CLAUDIUS in 268 and comes down to the time of DIOCLESIAN in 284; and the last, the THEODOSIAN includes the period from CONSTANTINE, in 306, to THEODOSIUS, in 421.

Of these three Codes, the last, only, seems to have been partially preserved to the present time, and among its

tion. We nowhere find that the jurists of the Pandects disputed concerning the words, or the drawing up of the edict.

What difference would, in fact, result from this with regard to our codes, and our modern legislation? Compare the learned Dissertation of M. Biener, *De Salvius Julianus meritis in Edictum Prætorium recte æstimandis*. Lipsæ, 1809, 4to.—W.

compilers we find the names of CAIUS, PAPINIAN, PAUL, ULPIAN and MODESTINUS, who were so pre-eminent in their day that by a special Edict of THEODOSIUS the Younger, they were solemnly pronounced to be the Oracles of Jurisprudence throughout the Empire.

Now, in glancing back at what has been said in the preceding pages we gather that, the laws which governed the Eternal City, from the early period of its history down to the age of JUSTINIAN were:

10. The *Jus Civile Papirianum*, under the Kings.
20. The *Lex Tribunitia*, which abrogated the *Jus Papirianum*.
30. The Laws of the 12 Tables.
40. The *Jus Civile*, or common law.
50. The *Legis Actiones*, called also *Jus Civile Flavianum* and *Jus Ælianum*.
60. The *Plebiscita*, or popular laws, which were afterwards merged in the *Lex Hortensia*.
70. The *Senatus Consulta*, or decrees of the Senate.
80. The *Jus Honorarium*, or Prætorian Edicts, or rather the PERPETUAL EDICT, which was or is presumed to have been a Digest of them all.
90. And lastly, the Constitutions, Rescripts, Edicts and Pragmatic Sanctions of the Emperors, which were comprised in the GREGORIAN, HERMOGINIAN and THEODOSIAN compilations.

A. D. 527—Thus stood the great body of the ROMAN LAW in the beginning of the 6th Century, when the genius of JUSTINIAN conceived and devised the Herculean design of collecting and condensing that vast undigested mass of legal learning and moral philosophy (the mere manuscripts of which are represented to have been burthen enough for many Camels *Multorum Camelorum Onus*), into the comparatively narrow compass of the CODE, the PANDECTS and the INSTITUTES.

The immortal TRIBONIAN, the most laborious at least, if not also the most profound Jurist of his age, was the master spirit to whom this great and momentous work was intrusted; and he and his learned associates, 9 in number, in the preparation of the Code, and 6 in the compilation of the Digest, achieved their arduous task, much within the period assigned for its performance; such were the zeal, the ability and the genius that were brought into action in the fulfilment of the Imperial mandate.

The *Justinian Code* first appeared A. D. 529, not quite a twelve months after the work was commenced, * and the *Magnum Opus*, the DIGEST or PANDECTS, for the compilation of which ten years had been computed as necessary, were presented to the world in their present shape within the astonishing short period of three years.—(A. D. 533.)

The CODE embodies the *Constitutions* and *Rescripts* of the Roman Emperors from the reign of TRAJAN and is derived chiefly from the three Codes of which we have already spoken i. e., the Gregorian, the Hermoginian and the Theodosian. It is divided into 12 *Books*, each Book into *Titles*, and these again are sub-divided into *laws*, *principia* and *paragraphs*.

The DIGEST, the most precious of the great Works bequeathed to posterity by JUSTINIAN, contains the solemn record of the *dicta* and opinions of Magistrates and Lawyers of eminence who flourished under the Republic and the Empire, whose names are affixed to their respective laws for the laudable reasons stated in the confirmation of the Pandects, § 10 & 20, "*Quia*," says that law, "*Æquum erat tam sapientium hominum nomina taciturnitate, non obliterari*,

* A second promulgation however took place in 534 containing eleven new constitutions, 6 of which partially revoked or amended former laws.

tam ut manifestum esset ex quibus legislatoribus, quibusque eorum libris hoc Justitiæ Romanæ Templum ædificatum esset.

The DIGEST is arranged under 7 principal heads or divisions called Parts, which comprise in all 50 Books. They are divided into Titles, Laws and Principia, in an order once simple and lucid. It contains copious and well digested Tables of Contents, which render a reference to its authority a task of little or no difficulty.

The INSTITUTES to which the name of Justinian has emphatically attached, probably from the supposition which at one time prevailed, that the Emperor was himself the writer of the work—were meant to contain, as they really do, the *elements* of Civil Jurisprudence. Inferior in magnitude and importance to the Code and the Digest, yet have they no less than these elicited in all Countries the admiration of the Lawyer and the Philosopher.

They are stated by classic judges to be written with somewhat unequal elegance, the passages ascribed to Justinian being distinguishable by the comparative barbarism of their style from those copied from a similar work by GAIUS, * dating as far back as the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Antoninus Pius, the latinity of which is esteemed in the highest degree classic. The *Institutes*, as we now have them, are the result of the combined labours of TRIBONIAN, THEOPHILUS and DOROTHEUS. They are composed of four Books, and divided into Titles and Paragraphs.

To the CODE, the PANDECTS and the INSTITUTES were subsequently added a series of *Constitutions* and *Edicts* of the Emperor Justinian himself. These *Constitutions* were called *Novellæ* or *Novels*, and are 168 in number. They

* The Institutes of Gaius were discovered complete some 50 years ago, and were printed in Berlin, 1824. (Gaii Institutiones ed. Göschen.)

Novels, it seems, made their appearance in rapid succession, and were sometimes written in Greek, the language in which they are still extant in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

We have thus traced, though in a very cursory and I fear a very imperfect manner, the origin, progress and completion of the Code, the Pandects and the Institutes; and if we pause for a moment to contemplate the vast treasury of human wisdom and experience from which they have been derived, it will be no theme of surprise that these immortal compilations should have received the sanction of all civilized nations, and have been bodily adopted as texts of law by most European Countries, and received partially by all. The reference to them as written reason, in the Courts of all enlightened communities, even in those in which they possess no authority as law, is the highest order of approbation and praise which could be conferred upon them, and the universal assent of mankind to those branches of Roman Jurisprudence which are generally applicable to the transactions of civilized societies — such as the large subject of contracts, bailments, servitudes, prescription, and many others, fixes indelibly the stamp of wisdom on laws that could thus happily have generalized and settled the Rules of action by which men should be and are in truth governed.

That these invaluable repositories of legal learning should have been preserved to us amidst the vicissitudes that marked the History of Europe and Asia-Minor, during the barbarous and the middle ages, seems almost providential, especially when we consider that down to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the art of printing was invented, they existed, but in M. S. S., exposed not only to the destruction of the elements and the depredations of barbarian warfare, but were even threatened by the cupidity or ignorance of idle scribes, poets or novelists, who not unfrequently obliterated inestimable M. S. S. of the description of the Institutes or the Pandects, for the purpose

of applying the parchments or papyrus on which they were originally written, to their own useless and oftentimes frivolous effusions.

Numerous instances of these profane and vandalic obliterations of useful chronicles and scientific essays have been discovered within the last four or five centuries, although the practise itself, of erasing manuscripts to use the parchments for other literary compositions, seems to have obtained at a much earlier period, and is stated to be coeval with the days of CATALLUS, or about the end of the 7th century of the foundation of Rome.

The restoration of Palimpsests—which is the name under which these defaced papyri are known—has now long been the favorite study of some of the most learned men in Germany, Italy and other parts of Europe, whose researches may yet bring to light new and important historical discoveries, and eventually realize the hope expressed by Gibbon, that some of the lost passages of the Perpetual Edict—of which we now possess but a few scattered fragments—may still be restored.

JUSTINIAN, the Atlas on whom rests the ponderous tomes of Roman Jurisprudence, the legal Hercules of his age, if the expression may be allowed as applicable to the magnitude of the works accomplished under him: Justinian after a reign of 38 years died A. D. 565. The epoch becomes the more memorable, from the events which followed, for scarcely had his clay mouldered in the dust than the glory of the splendid Monument of Roman Law which he had reared became eclipsed, and the Code and the Pandects gave way to barbarian power and barbarian laws, that usurped their place and well nigh threatened them with complete annihilation.

They in fact disappeared and remained in a partial state of oblivion until towards the middle of the 12th

Century, when suddenly, and as by a divine miracle, such in the language of Pothier in his preface to the Digest, a complete Copy of the Pandects resuscitated, *emersit tandem e sepulcri tenebris*, and appeared in 1136 at AMALPHI, an Italian City, near Salerno. From AMALPHI this celebrated Copy was transferred to Pisa; and finally in 1446 was solemnly deposited in the Library at Florence. From this famous M. S. it is, that the most approved editions of the Pandects have been since copied and collated.

Thanks to the ingenious and all important discovery of Guttenberg and Faust, which, from the wonderful facilities which it has afforded for the dissemination of thought, forms perhaps the most remarkable and eventful epoch in the modern annals of mankind, the great works, of which we are now speaking, as well as those which have since that epoch, sprung from the pens of the literary and the learned of all nations, are now placed beyond the chance of probability of loss or destruction. The press has multiplied copies of the Justinian compilations to such an extent as to justify the belief that posterity can never be bereft of those invaluable treasures, and that they will go down to future ages amended, polished and perfected by the experience, erudition and wisdom of the eminent lawyers and Philosophers, whose peculiar study they have been, and whose splendid commentaries are no less precious in the eyes of the lettered and the learned world, than the text Books themselves which their commentaries have enlarged and expounded.†

Among the various editions of the C. J. C. which are now extant, the most accurate and approved is the famous Amsterdam Edition of 1663 in 2 Vols. folio with Notes by D. Gothofred. This is the edition in the Library of the

† Among the most eminent of these Commentators are Cujacius, GRAVINA, VINNIUS, Eserardus, NOODT, SCHULTINGIUS, and HEINNECIUS.

Association of the Montreal Bar. Of the *C. J. C. cum glossis*, there are many editions, but the most esteemed are those of 1589 and 1627 in 6 Vols. folio. The *Corpus Juris Academicum* is of later date and is usually labelled alphabetically at the beginning of each Book.

The Commentators of the Civil Law whose Works embrace the whole or most of the subjects of the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes, are CUJACIUS, DUARENUS, FABRUS, HEINECCIUS, NOODT, VOET and VINNIUS. They have written in latin; their Works are voluminous, and he indeed would be an ardent and indomitable Student who would seek to become acquainted with their profound exposition of the text they are admitted to have most learnedly commented.

Thus far we have considered the *Corpus Juris Civilis* as it came from the hands of TRIBONIAN and his coadjutors; and it may be remembered that in speaking of the Digest in particular, some allusion was made to discrepancies and imperfections which had crept into it, through the over haste probably with which it was completed. These consisted in some measure in the confounding of existing with obsolete laws, in the adoption in different places of the opposite opinions of the Proculeans and the Sabinians,* and in the obscurity of many passages that imparted perplexity to the laws; but the principal defect was to be found in the wrong collocation of divers laws under heads to which they had no immediate affinity. These faults did not escape the acumen of that great and virtuous French Jurist, the profound and venerated Pothier, who at an early stage of his legal studies conceived the plan of removing from the Pandects

* Also called the *Pegassians* and *Cassians*, two legal schools in the time of Augustus, at the head of the first of which was ANTIETIUS LAMBO, who looked to the spirit and equity of the Law in its interpretation—whilst ATTETIUS CAPITO, the head of the second school, clung inflexibly to its letter.

those blemishes he had detected in them, without nevertheless altering the general order and method of the Work.

To the achievement of this object, his life seems to have been in a great measure devoted; and although he sometimes despaired of the accomplishment of his task, he was encouraged by his distinguished contemporary, the immortal D'Aguesseau, to persevere to the end, and finally his elaborate work appeared in 3 Vols. folio with this title: *Pandectæ Justinianæ in novem ordinem digestæ, cum legibus codicis, quæ jus pandectarum confirmant, explicant aut abrogant.*

In this great work the order of the Books and Titles, as adopted by TRIBONIAN, has been scrupulously preserved; but in the details of each Title, the economy of the subject matter has undergone considerable improvements, and the defects of the original to which I have already alluded have been materially, if not wholly, corrected.

This he has accomplished at immense labour, by recalling, under their proper heads, the laws scattered over the whole work, and gleaning from the Code and the Novels, additional laws to support his position and enrich his compilation. His Titles are not unfrequently divided into sections, these into articles, and these again into paragraphs and principia. Each Title retains its original heading; but the sections, articles and paragraphs are preceded by brief explanatory denominations, which add to the facilities of reference, and give to the whole subject of the Title, the coherence and consistency of a Treatise. Nor ought it to be overlooked,—for this indeed is one of the conspicuous merits of his work,—that Mr. Pothier should have engrafted these large and important improvements on the JUSTINIAN compilations, without detracting from the usefulness of these; for, although the order of the particular laws is often inverted in the same Book, or transferred from one Book or

Title to another; yet, at the end of each Volume is found a Table in which the *laws* and *paragraphs* which are sought for, are indicated under the Book, Title, law or paragraph in which they stand in both compilations, the 1st number being that of the Tribonian Arrangement;—the 2nd, that of the New Collocation, as found in Pothier's *Pandectæ in novum ordinem digestæ*; and thus a reference to the original is rendered both clear and easy.

Pothier's Pandects have gone thro' several editions in the various forms of folio, 4o. and 8o. The Paris folio edition of 1818, which is the fourth, is printed with remarkable neatness and accuracy; and besides being adorned by the portrait of the author, contains interesting *fac-similes* of his M. S., and of the famous Florentine M. S., of the Digest from which the celebrated Gothofred edition was copied.

The *Corpus Juris Civilis* has been partially translated by various French writers. FERRIÈRE'S translation of the INSTITUTES is familiar to the legal profession. The Code was translated by TISSOT in 1807, and the Novelles by BÉRANGER, fils, in 1811. Of the Digest, we have a French translation by HUILOT of the first 44 Books, and by BERTHELOT of the remaining 6. There is also a complete translation of POTHIER'S PANDECTS with the text and translation on opposite pages, 24 Vols., Royal 8o., by L'Abbé DE BREARD-NEUVILLE, Paris, 1818. (a) The Institutes have also been translated into English by DR. TAYLOR, LL.D., whose version is much esteemed.

The object with which I set out in the present lecture, I have now brought to a close. It has been my endeavour (whatever the success of my design) to convey to you a general but clear historical outline of that great body of

(a.) This edition is to be found in the valuable Law Library of the HON. CHIEF JUSTICE DUVAL.

Justinian Legislation, to which some reference is made in almost every page of the works consulted by the Bar of Lower Canada, in their daily professional studies and pursuits; and, by tracing, however rapidly, to their sources, the laws contained in the Code, the Pandects and the Institutes, and dwelling upon the singular and providential event of their preservation down to our own times, it has been my aim far more to excite, than to gratify, your curiosity in relation to these colossal and enduring monuments of Roman intellect and greatness.

If the ancients are constantly held up to us as the models we are to imitate in the various departments of literature and philosophy, they are no less deserving of our unwearied study in the important department of their laws. It is in the study of the Civil Law alone that the student can hope to lay the foundations of a sound knowledge of Jurisprudence.

Our early impressions, derived from the History of Rome, are those of admiration for the heroism, the independence, the genius, the literature, the laws and the power of its people. These impressions become deeper as we afterwards investigate, more philosophically, their claims to this admiration, and we have the highest authority for saying, that the sentiment of reverence we feel for Roman institutions, is one to which those institutions are, with few exceptions, fully entitled.

One of the legal luminaries of modern times, the Great Chancellor D'AGUESSEAU, thus beautifully expresses himself in one of his famous orations on the Science of the Magistrate, when speaking of Roman Jurisprudence: "Tout *"y respire encore,"* says this eminent jurist and orator, *"cette hauteur de sagesse, cette profondeur de bon sens, et pour tout dire, en un mot, cet esprit de législation, qui a été la caractère propre et singulier des maîtres du monde."*

“Comme si les grandes destinées de Rome n'étaient pas
“encore accomplies, elle règne sur toute la terre par
“raison, après avoir cessé d'y régner par son autorité.
“dirait en effet que la justice n'a pleinement dévoilé
“mystères qu'aux Jurisconsultes Romains. Législate
“encore plus que Jurisconsultes, de simples particul
“dans l'obscurité de la vie privée, ont mérité, par la su
“riorité de leurs lumières, de donner des lois à toute
“postérité; lois aussi étendues que durables; toutes
“nations les interrogent encore, et chacune en reçoit
“réponses d'une éternelle vérité!” *

With this eloquent testimony before us, of the wisdom
which pervades the laws bequeathed by the Romans
mankind, and coming, as that testimony does, from a source
so exalted and of so unquestionable an authority, it would
be indeed presumptuous in me to add anything of my own
to press upon the attention of my hearers, the importance
of the study of those laws, by him who would aspire to
come either eminent as a Jurist or wise as a Magistrate
Legislator.

I therefore, with this citation, take leave of my subject
more than ever convinced that there is as much truth and
elegance in the thought and the language of Pothier, when
he tells us that, with reference to her laws, Rome is her
common country—*Roman communem LEGUM PATRIAM
confessus est.*

* “Everything in it (Roman Jurisprudence) still breathes that exalted tone of Wisdom and profound good sense, in short that spirit of legislation which has been the especial distinguishing characteristic of the masters of the World. As if the great destinies of Rome had not yet been fulfilled, she still reigns through the empire of her reason, after having ceased to reign thro’ the conquests of her legions. It would indeed seem as if the mysteries of the Temple of Justice had been revealed in their plenitude but to the favored Jurists of the Eternal City. Legislators far more than Jurisconsults, mere citizens dwelling in the retirement of private life, were, through the superiority of their enlightenment, found worthy of giving laws to all posterity, laws as vast and comprehensive in their scope as they are enduring; all nations consult them still, and each receives from them responses stamped with eternal truth.”

THE
CURRENCY OF CANADA
AFTER THE CAPITULATION,

BY
JAMES STEVENSON, PRESIDENT,

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You may probably recollect what I stated on a former occasion, when I had the pleasure of addressing the Society, that the currency of Canada could be divided into three sections; the currency during the French Régime; the currency from the capitulation to the year 1818, when Banks were first established in the colony; and the currency from that time to the present day. I have already discussed the first section, I propose now to deal with the second.

At the conclusion of my last lecture I alluded to a copy, which I presented to the Society, of an important State paper providing for the final settlement of all outstanding card money, ordonnances, and protested Bills of Exchange, as agreed upon "between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King." At the Treasury in Paris the settlements appear to have been partly made, for in the *Gazette* of the 23rd May, 1766, we find the following information: "Yesterday, at Garraway's Coffee House, London, a large sum of Canada stock, the produce of Canada paper money, was sold by auction, by Mr. James Demettes, and sold on an average at seventy-four per cent—which carries four and a half per cent." That is, the Bonds given on the footing,

of fifty per centum for Bills of Exchange, and seventy-four per centum for cards and ordonnances were sold at seventy-four per cent, or twenty-six per cent discount. Reduction in price succeeded reduction till, as we shall see presently, the Bonds became quite worthless.

There was much delay and difficulty at the Treasury in France, in obtaining the settlement of the Canada Bills, in accordance with the terms of the "Convention;" consequently we read—June 3rd, 1766: "It is reported that Canada Bills lately had a considerable fall in Paris; and further on—June 23rd, 1766: "The Earl of Rochford will be furnished with a spirited memorial to the Court of France, with regard to the payment of the Canada Bills, before his departure for his embassy to that Kingdom." Then, in consequence, I presume, of this spirited memorial—July 31st, 1766: "Last night's *London Gazette* contains the following intelligence addressed to the British proprietors of Canada paper:" "By a convention signed on the 29th March last, by the respective Courts of France and Great Britain, which fixes the 1st of October next to be the last day of receiving declarations, and taking proofs on them, at which period the French Commissioner is obliged to close his Register, he therefore thinks it incumbent on him to give this notice to the said proprietors, that they may not delay too long to make their declarations and provide the several proofs before the expiration of the above 1st of October, that they may not plead ignorance and complain when it is too late, of not having had sufficient notice." But later on, viz: June 3rd, 1771, we find it announced: "France has at length effected the great stroke of politics she has long been aiming at: the Government is become bankrupt, and the whole score of State debts is rubbed out." In fact the financial affairs of the nation were in a state of chaos; and the "Monarchy was rapidly drifting towards the thunders of the revolutionary Cataract."

In discussing the questions of currency of any particular period it may not be uninteresting to glance at the state of trade. I have been fortunate in finding an authentic statement showing the value of the Imports and Exports of several of the latter years of French rule in Canada.* I shall not burden your patience by entering into details: suffice to state that, the average annual Imports of 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754 and 1755, amounted to the equivalent of £210,000 Sterling; and the average annual Exports of those years to £60,000 Sterling. With the balance of trade so heavily against Canada, we are called upon to enquire how it was settled?

• IMPORTS			
	Livres Tournois.		Livres Tournois.
1749.....	£227,282 — 5,682,090	1,414,900 EXPORTS.	
		4,267,190 difference.	
		<u>5,682,090</u> Livres Tournois.	
1750.....	£206,194 — 5,154,861	1,337,000 EXPORTS.	
		3,817,861 difference.	
		<u>5,154,861</u> Livres Tournois.	
1751.....	£177,580 — 4,439,490	1,515,932 EXPORTS.	
		2,923,558 difference.	
		<u>4,439,490</u> Livres Tournois.	
1752.....	£241,913 — 6,047,820	1,554,400 EXPORTS.	
		4,493,420 difference.	
		<u>6,047,820</u> Livres Tournois.	
1753.....	£207,829 — 5,195,733	1,706,130 EXPORTS.	
		3,489,603 difference.	
		<u>5,195,733</u> Livres Tournois.	
1754.....	£205,905 — 5,147,621	1,576,616 EXPORTS.	
		3,571,005 difference.	
		<u>5,147,621</u> Livres Tournois.	
1755.....	£208,131 — 5,203,272	1,515,730 EXPORTS.	
		3,687,542 difference.	
		<u>5,203,272</u> Livres Tournois.	

A manuscript copy of a contemporary State paper, in the Department of Marine in Paris, contains the following passage in relation to the balance of trade: "En même temps que le prix des articles de l'importation augmente, celui des pelleteries et des autres objets de l'exportation diminue, et par conséquent il n'y a plus de poids dans un des côtés de la balance. Les dépenses extraordinaires que le Roy fait alors, et dont une partie est indispensable, viennent encore au secours de ce défaut de l'exportation: d'où il suit qu'en paix, comme en guerre, les dépenses que le Roy fait en Canada sont nécessaires au commerce de ce pays, de la façon dont il est aujourd'hui gouverné." And further on: "On sait aujourd'hui le tarif des dépenses que le Roy fait annuellement dans cette Colonie, en tems de paix. Supposons-le de cinq millions, et que le Roy veuille le continuer sur ce pied." We may therefore fairly infer that Treasury Bills constituted, as they really did, a considerable portion of the remittances required for Europe. I have not found a list of the various goods imported; but, after the inglorious victory which the Civil Government obtained over the church in her struggle to prevent the importation of Rum, we may safely assign one-tenth of the whole value to that article

By the year 1761, French domination existed no longer in any part of Canada. A warrant dated 7th April, 1762 issued from "Whitehall Treasury Chambers," appointing Custom House Officers for "Canada, lately reduced by His Majesty's arms," viz:

"Thomas Knox, to be Collector at Quebec, at a yearly salary of.....	£300 Sterling.
Thomas Ainslie, to be comptroller, at a yearly salary of.....	£200 "
Edward Manwaring and William Lee, to be Waiters and Searchers, at Quebec, at a yearly salary each of.....	£100 "

Thomas Lambe, to be Surveyor at Montreal,
 at a yearly salary of.....£200 Sterling.
 Richard Oakes, to be Waiter and Searcher
 there, at a yearly salary of.....£100 “ ”

The warrant bears the signature of

HOLLES NEWCASTLE,
 BARRINGTON,
 JAMES OSWALD.

The preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, November 3rd, 1762; and a definite treaty was concluded in Paris, on the 10th February following—by which France ceded to Great Britain, along with other territories, Canada and all the Laurentian Isles, except St. Pierre and Miquelon, reserved on behalf of the French fisheries.

By the kindness of my friend, Mr. John Stewart, of this city, I am enabled to give the value of the exports of Furs alone, as estimated by the Revenue Officers, for the following years, viz: 1764—£57,613; 1765—£61,921; 1766—£69,560; 1767—£68,586; 1768—£80,357 sterling. And the exports of Furs and other goods for the following years:

1769—Furs alone.....	£107,746	
No Wheat.		
Staves, Potash, Fish.....	20,352	
		£137,098 Sterling.
1770—Furs.....	£92,156	
Wheat.....	9,930	
Other articles.....	19,130	
		121,225 “
1771—Furs.....	£ 84,801	
Wheat.....	34,761	
Other articles.....	22,297	
		141,859 “
1772—Furs.....	£104,832	
Wheat.....	32,168	
Other articles.....	21,427	
		158,427 “
1773—Furs.....	£ 79,078	
Wheat.....	72,983	
Other Articles.....	26,255	
		178,316 “

On the other hand, the Imports for the same years were as follows:

1769—Rum.....	£ 23,895	
Pork.....	8,640	
Flour.....	27,339	
Groceries, &c.....	16,387	
European Dry Goods.....	80,000	
		£156,261 Sterling.
1770—Rum.....	£ 21,421	
Red Wines.....	10,200	
Flour.....	8,394	
Groceries, &c.....	11,772	
European Dry Goods, not given, but estimated at the value of.....	90,000	
		141,787 "
1771—Rum.....	£ 20,199	
Wines.....	5,740	
No Provisions.....		
Groceries, Salt, &c.....	19,352	
European Dry Goods, not given, but estimated at.....	100,000	
		145,291 "
1772—Rum.....	£ 26,151	
Wines.....	3,500	
No Provisions.....		
Molasses, Salt, Groceries.....	13,956	
European Dry Goods given.....	125,000	
		168,607 "
1773—Rum.....	£ 33,828	
Wine.....	15,110	
Pork.....	5,000	
Groceries, &c.....	13,468	
European Dry Goods, estimated.....	130,000	
		197,406 "

It may appear remarkable that there should have been such a falling off in the imports, as compared with those under the French Régime; but we know that the colony in Canada, consisting of about 70,000 souls, could not have existed without large contributions of the necessaries of life from France; that the French colonial policy was such as to debar all hope of success in rendering the colony self-sustaining. The effects of a change of Government are manifest in the facts of trade which I have just cited.

At first the French Canadians complained that the goods imported from England were dearer than those they formerly had from France; and the inhabitants of towns grumbled at a change of policy which left the country people at liberty to dispose of their produce in the market place, at the highest price it would fetch; whereas, under the old Régime, the price of all farm produce was limited by a decree of the Intendant. But the new subjects, as the French Canadians were then called, became reconciled to many changes of a salutary nature, which were introduced after the conquest. Of simple tastes and thrifty habits, they were fairly prosperous under British rule. They admired the enterprising spirit of our Merchants which, although actuated and stimulated, perhaps, by the desire for gain, plays nevertheless an important part in the general history of civilization and of human progress.

I shall not pause to look on the reverse side of the shield—to consider the consequences which followed the annual exchange of over three thousand puncheons of Rum for the precious products of field and forest. The baleful effects of this traffic are all of record in the published transactions and manuscripts of our Society, which may be consulted by those who feel desirous of making themselves further acquainted with the subject.

Contentment appears to have reigned throughout the whole period of the administration of Guy Carleton. He possessed all the qualities which constitute an able military Governor. In the hour of danger he inspired the people with confidence by his own calm courage: at other times, he was ready to redress grievances, and to listen patiently to all that was said to him—testifying by his whole conduct how desirous he was of cultivating friendly relations with all—irrespective of creed, race, or nationality. We are not left without proof of his popularity: in the Poet's corner of the *Gazette* we frequently find such lines as the following:

AU GENERAL GUY CARLETON.

" En toi, nous admirons la vertu, la sagesse,
La sévère équité, la douceur, la noblesse,
Pour tout dire en un mot, nous admirons en toi
Et le bonheur du peuple, et le bon choix du Roi."

The British inhabitants, in like manner, manifested the most friendly feelings towards their fellow subjects of French descent. The following paragraph appears in an address of the Protestant Clergy of Quebec, dated 17th November, 1768: "The mild and equal tenor of your Excellency's administration whilst Lieutenant Governor, so consonant to that liberal spirit and those principles of moderation which ever distinguish the Briton and the Protestant, gives us the strongest reason to flatter ourselves that the harmony which has hitherto subsisted between His Majesty's old and new subjects in this Province, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions, will not only continue without interruption, but even be improved into a cordial and lasting affection towards each other, to the advancement of true religion, establishment of the civil happiness of the subjects of this Province, and uniting all in the same sentiments of loyalty to His Majesty and attachment to his worthy representative." An expression in the merchants' address of the same date is equally pleasing: "The arrangements which it may be proper to make in tenderness and justice to the more ancient inhabitants of Canada, as we cordially unite with them in interest and affection."

In looking back on the past it is pleasant to come across instances of kindly feeling, and practical good sense prevailing over national antipathies and dissensions which frequently arise from diversity of opinion in matters of faith and ceremony.

Every effort was made by the Imperial authorities, as well as by all good citizens of British descent, to render

the change of allegiance as little painful to the feelings of the first settlers on the soil as possible. Serious difficulties had of course to be overcome, in consequence of the difference of laws, language and religion; but there were minor difficulties too which had to be dealt with, not the least of which was the heterogeneous circulation of the Colony. In the absence of a colonial coinage, the coins of several nations, Spanish, Portuguese, French and German, circulated simultaneously with the Gold and Silver currency of England, of which considerable sums were imported in ships of war. Importations of Mexican dollars were also made, for we read under "Maritime News, November 1st, 1764, Monday last, arrived here the sloop "Lovey," Captain Skevenink, from New York, with 20,000 dollars for the use of the army." With such a variety of coins in circulation, the authorities felt called upon to take immediate steps to regulate their price, and constitute them legal tender at certain fixed rates. It was therefore enacted, under the administration of General Murray, that from and after the 1st of January, 1765, the following Coins shall pass current at the several rates named:

NAMES OF COINS.	WEIGHING.	CANADA. CURRENCY.		
		£	s.	d.
GOLD COINS.				
The Johannes of Portugal.....	18 Dwts. 6 Grs.	4	16	0
Moydore.....	6 " 18 "	1	16	0
Caroline of Germany.....	5 " 17 "	1	10	0
Guinea.....	5 " 4 "	1	8	0
Louis d'or.....	5 " 3 "	1	8	0
Spanish and French Pistole.....	4 " 4 "	1	1	0
SILVER COINS.				
Seville Mexican Pillar Dollar.....	17 " 12 "	0	6	0
French Crown or 6 Liv. piece.....	19 " 4 "	0	6	8
French piece passing at present at 4s. 6d. Halifax	15 " 16 "	0	5	6
British shilling.....		0	1	4
Pistereen.....		0	1	2
French nine-penny piece.....		0	1	0
COPPER.				
20 British Coppers, (half-pence I presume).....		0	1	0

And all the higher or lower denominations of the said Gold and Silver coins, to pass current likewise in their due proportions; and from and after the first day of January, 1765, the above species of coins, or any of them, according to the above rates, shall be deemed a legal tender in payment of all debts and contracts that have or shall be made within the Province where there is no special agreement to the contrary, and that in all agreements, prior to, or since the conquest, which have been made in livres, according to the method of computation in use, the livre shall be estimated equal to one shilling of the currency hereby established, the dollar to be equal to six livres or six shillings, and in the same proportion for every Coin herein specified."

It was held, and held rightly, that in a British Colony the French monetary nomenclature should be changed, and that one more familiar to English ears should be substituted—if possible without creating any serious difficulties, disturbance of accounts, or change in the commitments of merchants. This was accomplished, as we have seen above, by assimilating the livre to a shilling currency of Canada, and constituting the latter like the former an integer or mere money of account—but with a specie basis: the French Crown weighing 19 Dwts. 4 grs. Troy, being 6s. 8d., it follows, the livre or the shilling represents 2 Dwts. 21 grs. Silver; and inasmuch as the guinea, weighing 5 Dwts. 4 grs. is equal to 28s., each shilling or livre represents 4.43. grs. Gold, of the fineness of 22 carats.

The coins specified in the ordinance were received at the Custom House in payment of duties—but the duties imposed being sterling money, the Gold Coins referred to, were received at the value they bore in England, and for no more; while the Silver Coins were received by weight at the rate of five shillings and sixpence sterling per ounce Troy. This ordinance, made on the 14th September, 1764, was followed by another, under the same administration,

dated 15th May, 1765, which provides: 1st, the merchants' accounts for goods and merchandise, or of whatsoever, sold and delivered, Agreements, Bill of Exchange, Promissory Notes, Bonds, Mortgages, or other securities for money, leases, and all interest and rents thereby reserved and made payable, commencing, made and entered into in this Province before the first day of January 1765, shall be paid, certified and discharged in the said denominations of money in the said ordinance as shall be in value and proportion to the denomination of money of such respective debts, dues, and demands, aforesaid.

2nd. And further, that all original entries and accounts for goods and merchandise, or other things sold and delivered, agreements, Bills, Promissory Notes, Mortgages and other securities for money, lease interests, and rents thereby reserved, to be kept, and entered into after the first day of July next, shall be made, and entered into for and in the different denominations of the currency of this Province, established by the said ordinance, and in no other currency whatsoever; and all and every original entries, accounts, agreements, Promissory Notes, Bonds, Mortgages and other securities for money, leases, and all interests and rents thereby reserved, kept, made and entered into after the said first day of July next, in any other currency than the said currency, by the said ordinance established, contrary to the meaning hereof, and of the said ordinance, shall not be admitted as evidence in any court of law or equity, nor shall be deemed, adjudged and taken, and are hereby declared to be null and void."

The first clause of this ordinance does not appear to have been objectionable; but the practical work of the second was beset with difficulties, and was consequently repealed under another ordinance made during the administration of Governor Carleton, dated 5th April, 1774.

is as follows: "Whereas it has been found by experience that a certain clause, in a certain "ordinance" made by the Governor and Council, on the 15th day of May, 1765, does not answer the purpose for which it was intended, but hath occasioned divers difficulties and inconveniences in the recovery of just debts in the Courts of Justice in this Province, and is thereby likely to become the means of much fraud and injustice if it be suffered to continue in force—it is therefore ordained and declared that the second clause above cited of the aforesaid ordinance shall be, from the date of the publication hereof, totally void and of no effect. Provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall invalidate or in any degree affect any other part of the aforesaid ordinance, excepting the clause above cited."

During the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, silver was principally used in the settlement of balances in all the Colonies of European States. The mines of South America yielded large returns of this precious metal, and a comparatively small proportion of Gold *

* The following is a registered export of Bullion to Spain from the 1st of January, 1754, to 31st December, 1764:

	GOLD.	SILVER.
From Vera Cruz.....	\$ 3,151,354.....	\$85,899,307
Lima.....	10,942,846.....	24,868,745
Buenos Ayres.....	2,142,626.....	10,326,090
Carthagena.....	10,045,188.....	1,702,174
Honduras.....	37,254.....	677,444
Caraccas.....	50,034.....	267,002
Havannah.....	656,064.....	2,639,408
St. Domingo.....	526.....	317,521
Porto Rico.....		
	<u>\$27,025,892</u>	
Maraciabo.....		91,564
To other Countries.....		8,652,720
		<u>\$135,441,975</u>
Gold.....		<u>27,025,892</u>
		<u>\$162,467,867</u>
Showing an annual export of.....		<u>\$14,769,806</u>

The Spanish dollar, based on careful assays, was found to be equivalent to 4s. 6d. Sterling, so that the above Total would represent £36,103,948 Sterling.

On the 19th of April, 1775, the first blow was struck in Massachusetts in the cause of American independence. The prospects of civil life in Canada were darkened by the shadow of war. In that same year the Province was invaded, and American troops occupied nearly every important place in the Province. The most distinguished Generals of the Continental army were ordered to complete the conquest of Canada by the capture of Quebec. The thrilling and all absorbing subject of interest was the coming conflict under our walls. But it is not my intention to repeat the story of the siege, and to tell how the brave defenders beat back their assailants, and decided the fate of the colony. I have only to state, what is perhaps sufficiently obvious, that, while the wave of war rolled over the country, trade, agriculture, and all the arts of peace were abandoned, and the whole energy of the loyal population was concentrated on their own defence.

It was not till the spring of 1777, when Canada was comparatively free from all apprehension of invasion, that Commercial matters received renewed attention. Importations from England, and Exportions from Canada, were both on the increase. Engagements were entered into with Merchants in Europe, the West Indies, the Upper and Lower parts of the Province—engagements which were frequently broken—therefore in the interest of trade and in furtherance of the ends of justice, it became necessary to establish a basis for a settlement of claims arising out of the non-fulfilment of contracts or engagements: hence we have an ordinance for ascertaining damages on protested Bills of Exchange. This ordinance bears date the 4th March, 1777, and provides that Bills drawn on Europe or the West Indies, are, in case of protest and return, made subject to ten per cent Damages, and Interest at the rate of six per cent, upon the principal sums furnished in the Province, from the day of the date of the Protest to the

time of repayment, which shall be reimbursed to the holder of the Bill, at the par of Exchange—that is to say, one hundred and eleven pounds, and one-ninth of a pound currency for every one hundred pounds sterling.

Bills drawn on any colony in the Continent, returned protested, are to be subject to four per cent. damages, and interest at the rate of six per cent per annum to the time of repayment. Bills, orders or notes protested within the Province to bear interest, at the rate of six per cent. per annum till paid. And if drawn on places beyond the Longue Sault on the Ottawa, or beyond Oswegatchie, or below Cape Cat, or the Seven Islands, four per cent damages and interest as provided.

The ordinance concludes with a stringent prohibition against any excess of the legal rate of interest, viz: six per cent. being taken directly or indirectly; and every person who shall—shall forfeit and lose for every such offence treble the value of the money, wares or merchandise—to be recovered by an action in the Common Pleas—a moiety of which forfeiture shall be to His Majesty, and the other moiety to him, her or them, who will sue for the same. We have likewise an ordinance, dated the 29th day of March, 1777, which provides that the following species of Coins shall pass current, throughout this Province, at and after the rates hereinafter mentioned:

NAMES OF COINS.	TROY.		CANADA CURRENCY		
	Dwts.	Grs.	£	s.	d.
GOLD.					
The Johannes of Portugal.....	18	6	4	0	0
Moidore.....	6	20	1	10	0
Dubloon or four Pistole piece.....	17	0	3	12	0
The Guinea.....	5	8	1	3	4
Louis d'or.....	5	3	1	2	6
Paying 2½d. for every grain of Gold short weight.					
SILVER.					
The Spanish dollar.....			0	5	0
British Crown.....			0	5	6
French Crown or pieces of 6 livres Tournois.....			0	5	6
French piece of 4 livres 10 sols.....			0	4	2
British Shilling.....			0	1	1
French piece of 24 sols Tournois.....			0	1	1
Pistereen			0	1	0
French piece of 36 sols Tournois.....			0	1	8

And all the higher or lower denominations of silver coins shall pass current in their due proportions. And the said species of coins, or any of them at the same rates, shall be deemed a legal tender in payment of all debts whatever. Then follows the clause fixing the penalty for clipping or diminishing the coins, viz: £100 for every offence. This is the Statute of 1777, which is generally supposed to have been the first relating to currency in Canada.

It has to be borne in mind that silver ceased to be a legal tender in England in 1774—that is in sums over twenty-five pounds, excepting at the rate of 5s. 2d. per ounce; although it was not until 1816 that gold was adopted as the sole standard, and silver coins were made tokens only, by

coining the same weight into 66s., which had ever since the year 1666 been coined into 62s.*

We have therefore a new money or integer of account, still however with a specie basis, but the shilling which formerly represented, under the ordinance of 1765, 2 dwts. 21 grs. Silver, or 4.43 grs. Gold of the fineness of 22 carats, represents 3 dwts. 12 grs. of Silver, or 5.48 grs. Gold of the above fineness. The term *livre* now ceases, that of shilling is perpetuated; and the Dollar is established as a fixed standard to which all commercial values are referred.

Judging from contemporary accounts, business in the colony was prosperous at this period of our history; still the notices of Bankruptcy, and declarations of dividends, which we meet with in the pages of old *Gazettes*, testify to occasional misfortune among those who were exposed to the vicissitudes of trade in these primitive times—as an illustration: “Mr. Alsopp, begs the favor of the Creditors of Claude Hugnet, dit la Tour, to meet at his house, at 10 o’clock on Saturday morning, the 5th November, (1777), to bring with them their accounts, proved before a magistrate, in order to receive their dividend, which he believes will be 16s. in the pound. And he adds, rather quaintly, with reference to another, though a minor debtor: “The Gentleman who borrowed of Mr. Alsopp the second volume of Smollet’s *History of England*, last winter, and has forgotten to return it, must be aware that, without it, the rest of the set is of very little value.”

Although the city of Quebec possessed all the honors and advantages to which it was entitled as the capital of Canada, Montreal became, commercially, the most prosperous of the two Cities. Situated at the head of navigation,

* Old Colonial Currency, by S. E. Dawson.

and at the foot of all the channels of communication with the upper country, the lion's share of the growing trade with the West fell to the merchants of Montreal. As their commerce increased, greater financial facilities, than existing arrangements afforded, were called for: in short, they wanted a Bank to enable them to carry on the operations of trade conveniently and successfully. It is not therefore surprising to find that merchants in Montreal took the initiative in proposing to establish the business of Banking in the Colony. On the 18th of October, 1792, a circular on the subject appeared in the columns of the *Official Gazette*. As it refers to the currency of the country, I take leave to quote from it. No other document that I have come across in the annals of the times, conveys a more correct account of the state of the circulation.

“The undersigned, having experienced great inconvenience in Canada from the deficiency of specie or some other medium to represent the increasing circulation of the Country, as well as from the variety of the money now current, and knowing the frequent loss and general difficulty attending receipts and payments, have formed the resolution of establishing a Bank at Montreal, under the name of the “Canada Banking Company.”

“The business proposed by the Company, and usually done by similar establishments, is:

To receive deposits in cash.

To issue notes in exchange for such deposits.

To discount Bills and notes of hand.

To facilitate business by keeping Cash accounts with those who choose to employ the medium of the Bank in their receipts and payments.”

“It is proposed to extend the operations of the Bank to every part of the two Provinces where an agent may be

judged necessary; and it is presumed that the Institution will be particularly beneficial to the commerce of and intercourse with the Upper Province."

The circular was signed by; Phyn, Ellice & Inglis, Todd, McGill & Co.; and Forsyth, Richardson & Co. The population of all Canada numbered then about 200,000 souls; and doubtless, not only Merchants engaged in extensive trade, but the people generally were suffering inconvenience from an insufficiency of currency to carry on the daily transactions of common life. If the firms referred to had succeeded in realizing their intentions, much benefit would unquestionably have accrued to the Province from a monetary institution, under the control of men of such a high standard of personal honor; but they succeeded in forming a private Bank only—chiefly of Deposit, not of Issue. The unsettled state of Europe, political apprehensions, combined with the actual obstructions of war, no doubt prevented the establishment of a regular Bank of Issue and Deposit. The scheme in its integrity appears to have been abandoned, and the field for circulation was left open to future enterprise, fortunately perhaps—for at a critical period in our history, later on, Government found themselves in a position to supply a trustworthy substitute for a metallic Currency, by the aid of which, our forces were kept in the field, and our gun-boats on the Lakes, to repel invasion, and save the colony a second time from the fangs of the neighboring Republic.

In the thirty-first year of the reign of King George the Third (1791,) all Canada, (then called the Province of Quebec,) was divided into two Provinces, with the designations of Upper and Lower Canada—thenceforth, with a short interruption, to enjoy the privileges and advantages of constitutional Government. Each Province had a Legislative Council, that of Upper Canada consisting of seven mem-

bers, that of Lower Canada of fifteen. These members were not elective, but were summoned to the Council, as our Dominion Senators are now, by the Chief Magistrate, to serve for life. The popular Branch, the elective Assembly for the Upper Province, consisted of sixteen members, that of the Lower of fifty. The King's Honourable Executive Council for the Lower Province was composed of nine members—the Executive Council of Upper Canada consisting of seven.

We now leave the smooth waters of Government by a Governor and Council of State, to steer our course as best we may among the broken seas of party politics.

In December, 1791, there are signs of an approaching election in Lower Canada. Committees meet to confer and arrange for the return of rival candidates; addresses appear in the *Gazette* of May, 1792; writs of election issue on the 24th, returnable on the 10th of July; and Parliament is called together for the actual transaction of public affairs, or as it is termed, in official parlance, "for the despatch of business," on the 17th December, 1792.

"But the first Parliament in Canada was held in Upper Canada—at the capital Newark, now Niagara. It assembled on the 17th September, 1792, in a marquee tent—one remove in the scale of ascending civilization from the aboriginal Council lodge. Parliament was opened by General Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor under the constitution. His residence at the capital was a log building, of some pretensions among log dwellings. There he entertained, in 1793, His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, father of our beloved Queen. It is recorded that if the lodging was indifferent, the fare was good, consisting of game and all the dainties the wilderness, rivers and lakes could produce."

"His Royal Highness had been conveyed to Niagara in the King's schooner "Mohawk," commanded by Commodore Bouchette,"—the grandfather of our esteemed Vice-President, Mr. R. S. M. Bouchette. "On landing, as soon as horses with saddles and bridles could be mustered, the Royal party wended their way by the river road, recently opened by the troops. The road to the cataract was an Indian path through the woods; and an Indian ladder, which consists of a succession of pine trees with the branches lopped short as a foot hold, led down for 160 feet, to the foot of the Fall. Down this hazardous descent, in despite of all expostulation, His Royal Highness resolved to venture, and, with the nerve and physical strength of his race, accomplished it successfully—returned with a capital appetite, and in a log hut, on the quivering brink of the abyss, with the flush of exhilarating exercise on his cheek, and the perfume of the pine branches on his hands and garments, partook of the rude cheer of the forest, in full front of the Falls, within sight and sound of the grandest spectacle that ever greeted Royal eye."*

Parliament assembled in Lower Canada, three months later, in the Bishop's Chapel, which stood upon the site of the central part of the present Parliament House. No doubt His Royal Highness, who was then in Quebec, attended the opening of the House; for he took a warm interest in the fate of our nascent Constitution. He was present at a rather animated election at Charlebourg. In his speech on the occasion he says: "Is there a man among you who does not look upon the new Constitution as the best possible one, both for the subject and the Government."

In the absence of Lord Dorchester, General Clark opened the Parliament of the Lower Province on the appointed

* Colonel Coffin—"The war of 1812 and its moral."

day; and on the 20th December he approved of the choice the Assembly had made of a Speaker.

The proceedings of the first session were unimportant as regards commerce. An Act was passed to allow of the importation of wampum from the neighbouring States—the only Act relating to trade. More important business however was despatched during the second session of Parliament, which commenced on the 11th November, 1793. An Act was then passed to facilitate the negotiation of Promissory Notes, the provisions of which are yet in force. They refer to the transfer by endorsement; to the liability of the maker, without protest, in the event of non-payment at maturity; to due diligence, and the needful notice and service of protest, in case of non-payment, in order to hold an Endorser—a measure which was called for in the interest of trade and commerce.

The prosperity of the Colony during the last years of the century was chequered by several indifferent harvests. In 1795 there was a general failure of the crops throughout the Provinces. Lord Dorchester was then induced to wholly prohibit the exportation of all kinds of grain, flour, &c. a measure which although it received the subsequent sanction of the Legislature, was as little based on principles of justice, as the decree of the Intendant, under the old Régime, limiting the price of produce on the market place. In the case of the late famine in India, many advocated a similar policy in regard to the exportion of rice; but that policy was successfully opposed as unsound in principle, and an unjustifiable interference with the liberty of trade, and the liberty of the subject.

Meanwhile there had been little change, little improvement, and scarcely any augmentation to the circulating medium of the Colony—the scarcity of which gave rise to a system of barter, styled store-pay, prejudicial alike to the

interests of the labouring classes and the agriculturists. The currency question continued to be discussed, but with little practical advantage to the public. The silver coins of all nations, and some gold, continued to circulate as formerly; but the gold coins, whenever they could be procured, were secured for shipment abroad in the settlement of debts. The efflux of gold did not proceed from any variation in the volume or value, as between the precious metals Gold and Silver; for the relation of the two had not been disturbed by any extraordinary production of either for at least a century past, but had remained stationary since the year 1717.* It was the defaced, diminished condition of the Silver coins in circulation which rendered them useless as a remittance abroad—excepting as bullion at the rate of 5s. 2d. per ounce of Standard fineness: still in the ordinary transactions of daily life, they passed current at a nominal value far in excess of their intrinsic worth. “The general law that, inferior coins will, if allowed to pass concurrently with the superior, entirely usurp their places,” was practically verified in Canada at this period of her history.

During the session of 1795, there were serious debates in both Houses of Parliament on the unsatisfactory state of the Currency, and after protracted discussion, the ordinance of 1777, fixing the value of certain coins, was repealed, and the following statute was passed, viz: “An Act to prevent the diminution of the specie circulating in this Province, that the same may be regulated according to a standard that shall not present an advantage by carrying it to neighbour-

* In 1344 1 lb. weight of Gold was equal to.....		12.475	Silver.
1509	do	11.400	do
1600	do	11.100	do
1717	do	15.209	do
1816	do	15.209	do
1863	do	15.069	do

ing countries; and whereas, by the ordinance now in force for regulating the currency of this Province, an advantage does arise by carrying Gold coin out of the same, be it therefore enacted that the Gold and Silver coins hereafter mentioned shall pass current and be deemed a legal tender in payment of all debts and demands whatsoever in this Province at the weights and rate following, that is to say:

The British guinea.....	5 Dwts	6 grs	.....	£1	3s.	4d
The Johannes of Portugal.....	18	"	.....	4	0	0
The Moidore of Portugal.....	6	"	18 "	1	10	0
The Four Pistole Piece of Spain, weighing.....	17	"	.....	3	14	0
The French Louis d'or coined before 1793, Weighing.....	5	"	4 "	0	18	0
The American Eagle.....	11	"	6 "	2	10	0

and so in proportion for each denomination higher or lower of those moneys. Every grain above and every grain below the weight shall be allowed for at the rate of $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. currency. After the 1st of June, 1797, payments above £50 shall be made in Gold coins; the gold may be weighed in bulk—that is to say, the Gold coins of Great Britain, Portugal and America together, which shall be current at the rate of 89s. currency per ounce Troy: those of Spain and of France shall be weighed together, and shall pass current at the rate of 87s. per ounce Troy; and there shall be a reduction of two-thirds of a grain on every piece so weighed in bulk, as compensation for the loss which would result from payments in tale."

"With regard to silver, the American dollar shall pass current at five shillings currency, and every other coin current in the Province as already provided for." A similar Act was passed by the Parliament of Upper Canada, on the 3rd June, 1796.

According to the foregoing statute, the guinea mentioned in the ordinance of 1777, weighing 5 Dwts. 8 grains, and worth £1. 3s. 4d., is now, in consequence of a guinea weighing 5 Dwts. 6 grs. being worth the same sum, raised in price

to the extent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. cy. on each, an increase of 1.60 per cent, for the pieces in detail; but when received in bulk, the statute provides that in every payment exceeding £50 cy. made after the 1st of June, 1797, when one of the contracting parties making or receiving the same shall require it, such gold shall be by weight in bulk, and not in single pieces; that is to say, the gold coin of Great Britain, Portugal and America shall be weighed together, and that of Spain and France together, from the weight of which a deduction shall be made of $\frac{2}{3}$ rds. of a grain Troy for each piece of Gold coin so weighed, as compensation that may accrue by paying away the same in detail. And in all payments so made, the Gold coin of Great Britain, Portugal and America shall be computed at 89s. per ounce Troy, and that of Spain and France at 87s. cy. per ounce Troy therein contained after such deduction made, and so on in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity: so that in receiving, say 89 guineas, weighed as per standard 2lb Troy, or 11,520 grs. Troy, there would fall to be deducted 89 two-thirds of a grain, or $59\frac{1}{3}$ grs., say 60 grs., leaving 11,460 grains to be paid for, at the rate of 89s. cy. per ounce Troy, which would give net proceeds 177 shillings and 1 penny for two ounces of Gold, reducing it by the tare to 88s. $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. an ounce. Now the price of Standard Gold was then and still is £3. 17s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. stg., and that amount at the par of Queen Anne, viz.: by the addition of one-ninth for conversion into currency would give only 86s. 6d., being a difference of 2s. $0\frac{1}{2}$ d. or $2\frac{1}{3}$ d. per cent premium — disturbing the old par of Queen Anne, and establishing a new par, viz.: the ninth and $2\frac{1}{3}$ per cent premium or addition.

The case may also be stated thus:

89 guineas represent 2lb Troy of Gold, or 11,520 grs. Troy, which, at 89s. per ounce, would give £106 16s. currency, making a difference of £2 19s. 4d. cy., equal to $2\frac{7}{8}$ premium, or that addition to the ninth; but the statutory

deduction of $\frac{2}{3}$ ds. of a grain on each piece when paid or weighed in bulk, would entail a deduction of $59\frac{1}{4}$. grains, or say 60 grs. leaving 11,460 grs., or 11 oz. 18 Dwts. and 12 grs. at 89s. per ounce, which gives £106 4s. 10d. cy., or £2. 8s. 2d. cy., above the old par of Queen Anne, equal to $2\frac{1}{3}$ d. p. c., consequently the currency, or which is the same in effect, the integer of account of Canada has been debased to that extent; and to arrive at true par we must add, not only the ninth, but $2\frac{1}{3}$ d. per cent. besides. The eagle weighing 11 Dwts. 6 grs. Troy, full weight, which it seldom is, is to be taken in detail at 50.06. shillings currency, and in bulk at 49.92—a scarcely appreciable difference, yet enough to affect, large transactions. It has to be borne in mind that the eagle of 1837, weighs only 10 Dwts. 18 grs., and contains 232 grs. fine Gold, while the eagle we are discussing weighs 11 Dwts. 6 grs. and contains $247\frac{1}{2}$ grs. of fine Gold. The par of the first being $2\frac{1}{8}$ besides the ninth, the old par of Queen Anne, or \$4.57 to the £ stg.; par of the last $9\frac{1}{8}$ th in addition to the old par of Queen Anne, or \$4.87. to the £ stg.

Then the Gold doubloon or 4 pistole piece of Spain is by this Statute increased nominally to the extent of 2.80 per cent., and the price per ounce fixed at 87s. being the relative rate; but the French Louis d'or, which by the ordinance of 1777, was fixed at £1. 2s. 6d. for 5 Dwts. 3 grs., is now required to contained 5 Dwts. 4 grs., or suffer a deduction or discount of $\frac{4}{5}$ per cent; so that in this single instance a little less silver is required to exchange for a Louis d'or. The French pistole piece 4 Dwts. 4 grs. is correctly rated at 18s. currency.

In 1808, another currency act was passed, slightly differing from the one I have cited. The doubloon is fixed at £3. 14s. 6d. instead of £3. 14s. and the French pistole piece at 18s. 3d. instead of 18s. There is also a change in

the price to be paid or received in case of over or short weight, and also in respect of the amount to be weighed in bulk; and the price of the Spanish and French Gold is increased by the addition of $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. an ounce. French or Spanish Gold was only 21 carats fine — hence the lower value as compared with British and Portuguese Gold. The clauses I allude to are as follows:

“(1.) British, Portugal or American Gold coins weighing more than the standard aforesaid, when weighed by single piece, there shall be allowed and added in all payments $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. currency for every grain; and for every grain which any piece of the same shall respectively weigh less than the standard aforesaid, there shall be allowed and deducted in all payments $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. currency—and for every grain which any piece of the aforesaid Spanish or French Gold coins shall respectively weigh more than the standard aforesaid, when weighed by the single piece, there shall be allowed and added in all payments $2\frac{1}{3}$ th of a penny currency; and for every grain which weighs less than the standard there shall be allowed and deducted in all payments $2\frac{1}{3}$ th of a penny currency.”

“(2.) Gold coins above £20 may be weighed in bulk—the Gold coin of Great Britain, Portugal and America together; and that of Spain and France together, and the Gold coin of Great Britain, Portugal and America shall be computed at the rate of 89s. currency per ounce Troy, and that of Spain and France at the rate of 87s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce — a deduction shall be made of one-half of a grain Troy for each piece of Gold coin so weighed as a compensation to receiver or receivers for the loss that may accrue in afterwards paying away the same by single pieces, which shall be computed respectively at the rates aforesaid—repealing the Act of 1777 and that of 1796.”

Tedious details all these may seem to some—details relating to events which should be relegated to the catacombs of history; for no sensible men should care either how they happened, or whether indeed they happened at all or not. Yet they are important cogs in the machinery of human life, and we claim for them a place, however humble, in the page of history. The influence exerted on the prosperity of nations by the character of their currency is perhaps a branch of study which has received less attention than it deserves. The minds of historians have been too much engrossed by the stirring drama of war and diplomacy, of politics and court intrigues, to give themselves to the dry and obscure study of such subjects as those which we are now discussing. “In the whole of the international policy of a State,” writes our late President, Mr. Stuart, “there is none which calls for more vigilant, unremitting attention on the part of the first executive magistrate and the Council of State, &c.”

Closely related to the subject of Currency, is the business of Banking. All hope of success in establishing a Bank in the Colony had not been abandoned. On the 4th of March, 1807, an advertisement appeared in the *Gazette*, requesting the attendance of the inhabitants of Quebec, at the Union Hotel, on Friday, the 6th, at one o'clock, P.M., to consult on the proper measures to be taken for the establishment of a Bank of issue in the Province. Nothing practical however resulted from the meeting.

In February, 1808, a petition of divers inhabitants of the Cities of Quebec and Montreal, praying to be erected into a body corporate, under the title of the “Canada Bank,” was presented to Parliament—received and referred to a special committee; and on March 4th, the Bill was introduced. Objections, however, were urged against the measure by many members—objections which, estimated by

the standard of to-day, appear rather strange. It was held that the people were illiterate and liable to be imposed upon; that if the Bill passed it would encourage a spirit of gambling and speculation founded on false capital; and that, as soon as the Bank should be established, all the specie in the Province would disappear. On the other hand, it was argued that the inconvenience apprehended from the illiteracy of the people would be guarded against by suitable devices on the Bank Notes, by which the relative value of each note might be known; that forgeries would be prevented by due precaution being exercised in stamping the Note paper, and by the skilful engraving of the plates. It was further argued, oddly enough too, that the crime of forgery had become common in the United States, because in that Country it was punishable by imprisonment only; whereas, under the Criminal Code of Canada, it was death to counterfeit any note or coin. Then, as to the creation of false capital, it was maintained that all credit may be considered fictitious capital; but though some may abuse the advantages derived therefrom, it should not for that reason be held as sound that no credit whatever should be given.

The Bill provided that the stock of the Bank should be limited to £250,000 cy. — the shares to be of £25 each. And with regard to the administration of its affairs — twenty-four Directors are to be elected from among the shareholders, who again are to choose from among themselves a President and Vice-President — half of the number of the Directors to attend to the affairs of the Bank, at Quebec, and half for the same duty in Montreal, at which cities the two principal offices are to be established. But the Bill was thrown out; and although, in the figurative language of the day, "the spirit of Banking was hovering over them," it was not till ten years later that the Merchants of Montreal and Quebec took up the subject again, and formed them-

selves into separate associations for carrying on the business of Banking, under the respective styles of "The Montreal Bank" and "The Quebec Bank"—both of which Institutions are still in existence.

Meanwhile, there was scarcely any improvement in the character of the circulation. Importations of specie were made from time to time from England, by the Military authorities, for the use of the army; and some British coins were brought in by immigrants: these were of course regarded, and preferred, as the most desirable currency the country could have.

At the North-East corner of this building, there is deposited in the foundation stone, a casket containing the following pieces of Gold, Silver and Copper Coins of Great Britain:

One Guinea.....	of the year	1798
One half Guinea.....	"	1804
One third Guinea.....	"	1806
One quarter Guinea.....	"	1762
One silver piece of five shillings.....	"	1804
" one shilling.....	"	1787
" one sixpence.....	"	1787
" one penny.....	"	1800
" an Irish fivepence.....	"	1805
One copper, British half-penny.....	"	1800
One " Irish ".....	"	1805

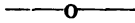
Where I presume they still remain—to beguile the future Historian or Antiquary, centuries hence, into the belief that such were the coins current in Canada at the time the stone was laid—the 17th of June, 1809.

And now I think I cannot ask you to listen any longer. On some future day, with your leave, I will proceed with my subject. We have now reached the most interesting part of our financial history—that which is related to the war

of 1812, when our Militia and our Monetary resources were taxed to the utmost. I shall leave it to others to deal with the incidents of war. It will be my endeavour to show how the exigencies of the army were provided for, under circumstances peculiarly trying, by the establishment of a temporary Government Bank of Issue—which all our historians have referred to, but which few, if any, have fully described or traced in its operations from its commencement to its close on the return of peace.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

AND MANNER OF CONDUCTING THEM.



PAPER READ BEFORE THE

Literary and Historical Society
OF QUEBEC

BY W. C. HOWELLS, U. S. CONSUL AT QUEBEC

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THE men who framed the Government of the United States had been trained to regard that body of fundamental law known as the British Constitution, as the foundation of free government. When they came to *write* their constitution, it was natural that they should write down the principles by which their fathers had secured and maintained liberty. They saw that while they were dispensing with the services of a *King*—the recognized exhibit of sovereignty—they must present to the people the abstract idea of sovereignty in some tangible manner. They had declared—what every Briton had felt to be true—that *the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed*. This was saying that the *people* are sovereign. No English King had roundly said, "*I am the State*;" but the British people had accepted the throne as the depository of the national sovereignty, subject to the limits of the constitution and the rights of Englishmen. The thirteen colonies which had united in declaring their independent sovereignty as *States*, were regarded as the depositories of the public sovereignty and their chosen officials as the ultimating agents of that sovereignty. These States had sent their delegates into convention, to organize a new *nationality*, upon which was to be conferred certain sover-

eign powers, specifically named in a written constitution—such as the power to make war, maintain armies and navies, negotiate treaties, coin money, etc.—which powers the States thereby relinquished, with this reservation: “That all powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” At the same time, though this convention was made up entirely of delegates from the *States*, and representing the *artificial* personality of the States; the constitution begins: “*We, the People of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, do ordain and establish this constitution,” etc.—thus constituting a national *unity* instead of a mere confederacy of the States, which had existed for nine years, under “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.” The constitution was adopted, “in order to form a *more perfect union*.” This is an important distinction, to be borne in mind, in view of the first division of parties into Republicans and Federalists—the former holding that the Union was only a compact of Independent Republics, while the latter maintained that it was a National Unity, and necessarily indissoluble. This was also a point on which the late Southern secession turned.

In the National Government, the *artificial personality* or sovereignty of the States was represented in the Senate, where each State, irrespective of its population, has two Senators. Each State is given two votes on this behalf in the Electoral Colleges, for the choice of President, and at this time five of the States give twice as many votes for President on this account as are given for the living people. In all, seventy-six of the Presidential votes are assigned to the *States*.

In the ardor of their early patriotism, the Fathers did not

anticipate any strong division of parties, and trusted much to this sentiment in their successors. In providing for the election of President and Vice-President, they ordered that the candidate who received the highest electoral vote should be President, and the next highest Vice-President. Before the fifth Presidential election, they found it necessary to change this halcyon arrangement, and adopt the following, which is the present provision of the Constitution for the choice of these officers:

" Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

" The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, . . . and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall seal and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the U. S. Government, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives, shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. . . . If the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, when the choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act," etc.

" The person having the highest number of votes for Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if that number be a majority of the electors appointed;" [and if not, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President from the two highest.]

It was left with Congress to determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day must be the same throughout the United States.

There is no mistaking the fact that it was at first intended that the President should *not* be an officer of the direct popular choice. The sound philosophical reasons for this,

were not always apparent to the people, and it certainly has not been very fondly cherished by them. There has ever since been a tendency to make this election as nearly popular as possible. The States which at one time chose the electors by the Legislature, or by Congressional Districts, have fallen into the one plan, now prevalent, of choosing the electors on one day and by a general ticket for all voters of the State. South Carolina had uniformly appointed her electors by the Legislature, as she elected Senators, until the war of secession. Since the re-organization however, the Electors are all voted for and elected by the people on a general ticket in every State, on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of each Bessextile or Leap year. Congress has fixed this day, with the acquiescence of the States; otherwise it would not be in their power to prescribe the time; though the day on which the electors shall vote, can be and is fixed for the first Wednesday of December following the choice of electors. When the Electors are chosen, they are notified by the *State* officials, and are thus authorized to organize the Electoral College for their State; which is done at the State Capital, on the day before that of voting. When they have voted, which they do by ballot, they ascertain the result, and certify it by the signatures of the electors, who seal up three copies of a statement of their votes, and attach to each statement a copy of the triplicate certificates of their election, furnished by their State officials. They then elect one of their number as a messenger to carry one copy of this vote to Washington, which he delivers to the President of the Senate. Another copy is sent to the same officer by mail, and the third is lodged with a judge of the United States Court of the District in which the College meets.

On the second Wednesday of February next following this election, Congress is required to be in session; then

the President of the Senate—in the language of the Constitution—is to “*open all the certificates in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the votes shall then be counted.*” Had the Fathers anticipated the counting of the vote in 1877, they would certainly have said *who* was to *count* the vote. The phraseology is remarkably vague, though any plain construction, free from controversy, would be that the one who opened the vote, or his assistant clerks, should count it. It was simply a question of *fact*, to be determined in the presence of the whole Congress as witness; and such was the construction given it at all the Presidential elections up to the counting of the vote in 1829; and the formula of closing the poll was: “The President of the Senate did, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and *count* all the votes of the electors for President and Vice-President.”

It appears to have been a settled principle from the first, that the only questions to come before Congress were:—the validity of the papers purporting to be votes of the Colleges, and the eligibility of the electors under the constitution. The manner of choosing the electors and the character of the elections, when they were chosen, are matters properly belonging to the States, into which Congress has no power or right to enquire. The election of electors takes place a full month before the Colleges meet, and there is ample time for the States to properly canvass that election. The States have provided by statute for the filling of vacancies in the Electoral Colleges, or they can be filled under the ordinary parliamentary rules, by which every body of the kind shall judge of the competency of its members. Congress has, in some cases, assumed to judge of the acceptance of the vote of a State, on the question whether such State was really a member of the Union, as in the case of new States or States out of the Union by secession;

but, until the recent election, the right to canvass the election of electors was not claimed.

Under the present laws, and customs of parties, the Presidential Elections are conducted in this wise: Early in the year of the election, National Conventions are held by the different leading parties, in which only members of the one party participate. From among their suitable men they nominate a man for President and one for Vice-President, who are thenceforth recognized as the men for whom every man of that party is expected to vote, and induce all others, whom he can influence, to vote also. These names are made public; and at convenient times afterward, the parties hold State conventions, where nominations are made for electors for the State. For instance in the State of New York, thirty-five men are nominated, one for each Congressional District and two for the State at large. In due time the other party or parties make like nominations. These form the electoral tickets of the State. The newspapers of each party publish these tickets for several weeks previous to the election, until the public becomes familiar with them. Then each party prepares its tickets for voting. These are usually printed on slips of paper, in this wise—suppose New Hampshire:

REPUBLICAN ELECTORAL TICKET.

For President—ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

“ *Vice-President*—HANIBAL HAMLIN.

For Presidential Electors.

For the State at large—Thomas Jones,

James Wilson.

For the 1st Congressional Dist.—Cephas Peter.

2nd “ “ John Robinson.

3rd “ “ Wiliam Smith.

On the day of the election, which is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, each voter deposits one

of these tickets in the ballot box, either open or folded up; but if he fraudulently or accidentally folds two together, the common rule is to throw them both away, when the count is made. This election being held on one and the same day in every State, the polls are closed usually at six P. M., when the election judges are required to begin counting the poll, and continue till it is finished, which, as the precincts are of convenient limits, can be completed in the night. The poll books and statements of the votes are then sealed up and given to the Sheriff or some returning-office who forwards them to the State Capitol; where they are canvassed, and the result declared by the proper State officers, who then notify the electors who are chosen. Any question as to the correctness of this election must be settled before these canvassing officers.

PARTIES were formed at an early day in reference to the character of the Union under the constitution, and great bitterness marked the controversy between the *Federalists* and *Republicans*,--the former contending for the compact *nationality* idea, and the latter a mere *alliance of the States*. The Federalists happened to come first into the management of the Government, which they very naturally conducted after the English models, as those under which liberty had been most successfully maintained. They were impressed with the importance of a strong Government, and a persuasion of a tendency in the masses to resist authority; and they put in operation certain statutes against sedition and constructive treason, which, though not extremely offensive, and never oppressively enforced, were magnified to undue proportions, as evidence of an intention to establish a monarchy, or a centralized Government that would destroy the Republican features of the new system. On the other hand, the Federalists accused the Republicans of a tendency to that dangerous radicalism into which France had fallen. The ill-natured accusations of parties against each other

took on the form of charges of treasonable intentions or sympathy with foreign enemies. Each party seemed to forget the patriotic devotion with which they had united together but a few years before. The Republicans, or as they were coming to be called, *Democrats*, accused the Federalists of sympathizing with the English, while the Democrats were charged with copying French notions. With the election of Jefferson, in 1800, the Democrats came into power, though the Federalists formed a strong opposition. This relation of parties continued till 1808, when difficulties with England occurred. The French and English had trespassed upon our commerce on the seas—the French seizing our vessels and the English impressing our sailors. In the disturbed state of Europe, we suffered wrongs that might not have occurred in times of peace. War with England followed—war that might have been avoided, in all probability, but for the bitterness of our party controversies. The Democratic party embraced in its members a large proportion of natural enemies of the British Government. The immigrants from Ireland and France were all of this party; and at this time a large proportion of the refugees from the unfortunate rebellion of 98, made their home in America, to exert a strong influence. Such men as Thomas Addis Emmet and his compeers could not live in New York at such a time, without communicating a spirit of hostility to England, that was impatient of all treaty or negotiation. The Revolution was still fresh in the minds of the people, and its scenes were not the stories of grandfathers, but the experience of veterans; the spirit of war was abroad in the old world and rife among the men of the new. It was naturally popular to go to war with England, and fight the King already braved in the revolution—especially under the provocation of impressments, hateful alike to Britons and Americans.

THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION was held in 1788, when George Washington was elected President, without

opposition, and John Adams was chosen Vice-President. Again, in 1792, Washington was re-elected, with Adams as Vice-President. Washington is not assigned to any party; Adams was a decided Federalist.

In 1796, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were the candidates, the latter being supported by the Republicans or Democrats. Adams received the highest vote, which made him President, and Jefferson became Vice-President by virtue of having the next highest vote. Thus both parties were represented in the administration.

In 1800, Jefferson and Adams were again candidates. But at the same time Aaron Burr, who supported the Republicans, was voted for in several of the Electoral Colleges; and when the votes were opened, there were found to be as many votes for Burr as for Jefferson. This threw the election into the House, when Jefferson was chosen. Burr was then elected Vice-President.

In 1804, Jefferson was re-elected, with George Clinton as Vice-President—both Democrats—with very slight opposition.

In 1808, James Madison, of the same party, was elected almost without opposition, with George Clinton again as Vice-President.

Mr. Madison was re-elected in 1812, with Elbridge Gerry as Vice-President.

In 1816, James Monroe was elected in like happy manner, and with him Daniel D. Tompkins as Vice-President. Both these gentlemen were re-elected in 1820. These elections and the one preceding them were almost without opposition.

But in 1824, there was a revival of political interest, and four candidates were brought forward; all of whom were

regarded as associated with the Democratic party. They were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. The last of these had distinguished himself as an officer of the war with England—particularly in the defence of New Orleans against the attack of the British under Gen. Packenham, on the 8th of January, 1815, after the treaty of peace had been concluded.

We, of this day, who read yesterday's news from farther India at our breakfast table, can but pause to think of this, one of the bloodiest battles of that war, fought fifteen days after the treaty of peace was concluded and twelve days after it was ratified by Great Britain, by men who, with our telegraph facilities, would have met to greet each other in the joys of peace.

Gen. Jackson was candidate of the more enthusiastic and ultra Democrats, who made the most of the prestige of his military heroism, in that state of the world a powerful element of popularity. He was a man of strong points of character, active in the politics of the South-west, before and after the war, and marked by an indomitable will, that had conquered all opposition, and sometimes without regarding the proper formalities for the orderly attainment of his ends. He was a type of that democratic *idea*, that holds it right for the majority to rule, *because it is the majority*, and has a justifiable purpose. Around him, the men imbued with this idea chrystalized into a powerful party, which has maintained its organization to this day.

I must be excused here, for saying on my own behalf, that I speak of these parties as they appear to me. Indeed this is the only view I can give of them, trying however to do so honestly. Soon after I came to Quebec, a gentleman * asked me to define the difference between the *Republicans*

* The late Col. Gugsy.

and *Democrats*; for he said the terms meant the same and he could not distinguish between them. I playfully replied that the terms meant *in* and *out* of power. To many it does mean just that, as the terms *rouge* and *bleu* mean that with many Canadians. But there is more than that in these terms: In free governments, parties are born of certain ideas. The idea is an abstraction that is as nothing till it is incarnated—till men receive it and unite around it to ultimate it in government. The right and authority of the people to govern themselves is accepted by all Americans. But there are two views of this authority: one is that it exists by the *will* of the people, and the other that it exists by virtue of its inherent rightfulness, accepted by the *convinced will* of the people. I understand the two parties as they now exist, to represent these two ideas—the *Democrats* holding that the will of the people, or a majority of them, is absolute and should govern; while the Republicans hold that the will of the people is *without* authority unless it acts through the orderly forms of law. Whether I be mistaken or not, as to the parties, my intent, in adhering to the Republican party, is to adhere to the latter idea; and I oppose the Democratic party because I think it represents the *will of the people* ruling absolutely or despotically.

The growth of a political party is a study of real breadth—especially in a Republic like ours,—where the people must be equally interested, and come together of their own accord, to effect a purpose. In a monarchy, or an aristocracy, the leaders may enlist followers and organize a party speedily; and on the spur of the moment a nation may be divided into parties. But with us there must be a slow growth of parties, which is aptly expressed by the term *chrysalization*. From the defeat of the Federalists in 1800 till the summer of 1840, there was not any solid organization against the Democrats, that might be properly

called a party. Measures of policy which are always changing with the times, modify the action of parties, and delay organization, unless some overwhelming measure, like war, or the reform of a flagrant abuse, or the direct protection of personal rights, is presented to the people. There is always present the question of what man shall be elected to an office; but it is next to impossible to enlist the citizens of a large extent of country for a long time in the support of any particular man. The nearest approach to this in our history was in the case of Gen. Jackson; and then the idea of vindicating the public choice, as it was believed by many to have been expressed and disregarded, was as strong a motive as any. The people as a mass can better judge of a principle—an abstract principle—than they can judge of persons; and they will more readily agree and unite in sustaining a principle than they possibly can unite around a man. It is only when a man has become identified with a principle than he can rally a strong party in a free government. Principles are always in much closer contact with men than men are with each other; and the influence of a principle is so direct and so uniform that it will govern alike, and lead in like paths of thought and action, men who have never conferred with each other. It is by this power that men are aggregated into parties, often to the surprise of those who vainly attempt to organize them.

Though men of ultra Democracy clustered around Gen. Jackson, he received a support, drawn from men of various views, while men of all political persuasions supported the other three candidates, so that the electoral vote was divided between the four,—as nearly as I can remember, for I cannot now refer to the figures,—94 to Jackson, 87 to Adams, 51 to Crawford, and 43 to Clay. As Jackson had not received a majority of the electoral votes, it fell to the House of Representatives to choose the President

from the three highest. The result was that some of the friends of Clay and Crawford gave their support to Adams, and he was elected by the House. Exactly what parties produced this effect cannot be told, because after the votes of the electors were laid aside, it was impossible to say what influences, if any, were used. After he was elected, Mr. Adams appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State, which was assumed by the friends of Gen. Jackson to be proof of a coalition between them. The House doubtless deemed Adams the fit man for President, and Clay was a proper one for Secretary of State. There was a possibility of a bargain between them, but no proof of it.

The friends of Jackson made this a rallying cry, and at once entered upon active preparation for the election of their favorite in 1828. They argued that Jackson having received the *highest* vote, was therefore the choice of the people; and yet he had only received a little over a third of the electoral vote. It was in vain that Adams's friends showed that he was elected according to the provisions of the constitution; the Jackson men furiously charged bargain and intrigue between Clay and Adams, and pointed to the highest vote as evidence of the popular preference, which they insisted had been disregarded. John C. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President with Mr. Adams, and thus were united men who never afterwards harmonized in politics.

The four years of this administration were an electioneering campaign, in which the Jackson party were successful and swept the entire field, carrying almost the whole electoral vote against Mr. Adams, who was the only opposing candidate. The convenient and common designation of parties was *Jackson* and *Anti-Jackson*; and the popular slogan was, Hurrah for Jackson! The animus of Jacksonism was an unenlightened and unreasoning patriotism, which meant well, and was intent to vindicate a defender of the country, whom the people supposed to have

been wronged. Scheming politicians did not fail to aggravate this feeling by misrepresentations. They charged Adams and his friends with extravagance and corruption, aristocratic manners and monarchical style. On the other hand the Jackson men were accused of making appeals to unworthy prejudices and low principles, and their leader was denounced as a coarse, arbitrary man, unfit for the office. They went into power on the top wave of a political ground swell, almost without the discussion of principles; but they wisely anchored to the traditional *Democracy* and its potent name. John C. Calhoun united his fortunes with Jackson in 1828, and was elected Vice-President on the same ticket.

With the opening of Jackson's administration, a radical change was inaugurated in our civil service, that has been the cause of complaint ever since among moderate men of all parties. Pending the election, Jackson's friends had assumed and charged that every department of the government was filled with corruption, and made no scruple of charging this upon every employé under Adams. A more unfounded charge could scarcely have been made; for the offices were generally filled by old and long tried men, who had been found faithful under several succeeding administrations, when it had never been the custom to apply any political tests. Having made the charge, when they came into power they sustained their consistency, by turning out the old incumbents, and filling the places with their political adherents. It was admitted that the President ought to appoint the heads of departments from his friends. To this no objection was made; but considerate citizens protested against extending such a rule to the minor offices, as a practice corrupting in its tendency, and extending the influences of the presidential patronage, for evil, over the entire country. It would certainly have struck an uninterested observer, as a wonderful anomaly, for the *Demo-*

cratic party of the country to institute a practice by which one man should absolutely dictate the political choice of every official in the land. And yet such a system was instituted under the mild theory that the President's friends would be his best servants, or the coarser maxim of political contests, that "to the victor belong the spoils." Jackson's administration opened with the removal of all his political opponents, regardless of efficiency or integrity, and filling their places with his adherents in all the departments, to the farthest country postmaster.

It is needless to remark that this power made itself felt. As a precedent it was bad; but what was worse, it settled into a custom. Twelve years in the hands of the same party established it; and in a retributive spirit it was accepted as a kind of unwritten law by the opposing party, when they came into power.

In 1832, General Jackson was re-elected, with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President, the opposition being scattered and weak. In some of the States the electoral tickets against him were unpledged. The famous anti-Masonic party was in its strength about this time, and made William Wirt its candidate; but he received no electoral votes. In some States Clay, and in others Webster received a few votes. The anti-Jackson party was then known as the *Opposition* only, though they sometimes used the term National Republican.

During and immediately following war with England, the idea of fostering an independent system of home manufactures grew into favor throughout the country, and under the appellation of the American System, was decidedly popular for a time. Henry Clay and many of his political coadjutors had embodied a pretty strong party in support of the measures embraced in this system; under this influence a high protective tariff was established during the

administration of John Quincy Adams. This system made a rallying point for the opposition during Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations. The doctrine of protection soon met with opponents in the Southern States, where the planters found the cotton trade with England increasing and their policy of home manufactures on the wane. The opposition to the protective system grew so rapidly that it had the power to force a modification of the tariff in 1831, reducing the duties on a graduated scale, by successive years, at the end of which time the protective feature was expected to disappear. The Southerners managed at an early day to enlist the greater portion of the Democratic party with them against protection. On the other hand, the opposition clamored for an increase of impost duties, and charged the Democrats with encouraging free trade, to the destruction of home industry. The line was closely drawn between the friends of the protective policy and free importations, and the opposition speedily arranged themselves on the side of protection, with Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and their friends in the lead. The party calling itself National Republican which was the nucleus of this organization, in 1834 took on the name of *Whig*.

Martin Van Buren was elected President in 1836, with Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, (who had the reputation of having killed the famous chief Tecumseh, at the battle of the Thames), as Vice-President. The opposition then was divided, the Whigs voting, according to locality, for Gen. Harrison, Daniel Webster and one or two others. The administration was a quiet one; but was remarkable for one of the worst financial crises of our history. Under the gradual reduction of duties, imports had been made in excess; the revenue was far beyond the national expenditure. In 1834, after all the debt had been paid off, there was found in the treasury a surplus of nearly forty millions of dollars, which was distributed to the States, in

the form of a loan. The United States Bank had gone out of existence; the States Banks increased in numbers and increased their issues unduly; and money was so plenty and prices so high in 1836, that potatoes were actually imported from Ireland on speculation. In 1837, the crash came, and general depression followed—a fact which the Whigs did not fail to present, as evidence of the bad policy of the government. The new Whig party was successful in 1838, in carrying the elections in New York; and thus encouraged they prepared for the election of 1840, with a good prospect of success.

In February of that year, the Whigs held a National convention, at which, with great unanimity, they nominated Gen. William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, as their candidate for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. At this time Daniel Webster and Henry Clay were regarded as candidates for nomination. But they were rivals, and they had political enemies, whose opposition would be more active than friends could be; and the party did not feel able to carry any dead weights. The availability of the candidate was deemed indispensable. The politicians were impressed with the value of military prestige,—which is always over estimated,—and of course looked favorably to the nomination of Gen. Harrison. He had been a successful commander, and had distinguished himself with victory at the battle of the Thames, which following closely upon Perry's brilliant naval action on Lake Erie, practically closed the war. He was however, a most unpretending man, of quiet and gentle manners, and greatly beloved in the army—particularly by the rank and file—who were won by the familiar dignity with which he met men and officers, in his relations with them—a soldier on duty and a citizen at rest. To this he added a wonderful natural faculty for remembering and recognizing every man he saw. He had retired from the army and

was living on his farm near Cincinnati; but at the time of his nomination was serving in the modest position of Clerk of the Courts of Hamilton county, with a salary of a couple of thousand dollars a year. He was so plain in his habits, that a Democratic newspaper was tempted to say of him, sneeringly, that he knew nothing about the Presidency, and cared nothing about it; and if he was only left alone, he would be content to sit in his log cabin and drink hard cider the rest of his life. This unfortunate sneer woke up the sentiment of homely pride in the Western people; and the Whig politicians had the sagacity to see the value of this feeling, and played upon it with good effect. They accepted the *log cabin* and *hard cider* as watch words; and in their speeches and in print, dwelt upon the delights of rustic felicity in pioneer and home life, represented by the log cabin and hard cider. Immediately the dwelling of Gen. Harrison was called his log cabin,—and a part of it actually was a log house,—and all manner of rustic devices adorned the newspapers, electioneering handbills and banners. Songs were written, and sung every where, celebrating the cabin, the Whig party and its candidates. Some one acute in philology settled the etymology of the name *Whig*, that it was the old Saxon word *wheg*, since changed to *wey*, which the English Tories had bestowed upon their opponents in derision, intimating that they drank *wey* as a convivial beverage. Besides it was the term under which the war of 1776 was fought. This was greedily accepted by the Whig politicians and turned into use along with the hard cider and log cabins. It was a singular fact that the *Democratic* party was headed by men of aristocratic tendencies, who assumed to be leaders, finding their followers among the more illiterate of the population. The party thus embraced the extremes of society. The Whigs were made up of the less pretentious men of means, manufacturers and business men of the country, farmers and the more intelligent of the laboring classes. Their social condition

was more even than that of the Democrats, and few of them looked up to superiors. As was necessarily the case, there was a large class of what in politics is very aptly termed *drift-wood*—voters who float with the popular current. The strife with politicians was then, as it always is, to shape the draft of the current, so as to get this to their side. To this class the glory of the military candidate was displayed; and the log cabin and hard cider were spoken of in such a way as to show a sympathy with honest poverty and simple rustic life, and impress the poor man with confidence that his home spun clothing and homely drink of *whey* were respected by the party. All this had a great effect; while the public sentiment was setting against the party in power. The military prestige of Gen. Jackson was not transferable to Mr. Van Buren, and his administration was only of the party. The times were hard, and business was deplorably dull—for all which the party in power was held accountable. The protectionists laid all troubles at the door of the free trade policy of the party, with force and effect. With all this there was a rapid tendency to the later divisions of the North and South that was having a powerful moral effect. The violent treatment of anti-slavery men in the South, and arrogance of the slaveholders had deeply affected the moral sentiment of people in the North. Men who preferred not to take an active political position in relation to slavery, acted with the Whigs, as the party from which they had the most to hope; and though Whig-leaders, when pressed, stoutly declared that they had no sympathy with abolitionists, and that both parties were alike in that respect, the careful observer at that day could see the tendency of the parties to opposite sides on this great question, and to recognize the affinity between the *Democratic* party and the slave interest. The wresting of Texas from Mexico by Southern adventurers, under the lead of Gen. Houston, which the Whigs, openly opposed on the ground of its manifest injustice, had its

effect upon the more conscientious voters, as well as those who saw that the sentiment opposed to slavery would naturally find shelter with the Whigs.

But this election campaign was conducted with great skill, and ended in the success of the Whigs in nearly all the States. It was eminently a good humored affair, at least with the Whigs. They got up vast and numerous popular meetings, which were addressed by their ablest speakers. They went to these meetings in processions, and took their women and young people along; they sung songs and shouted all manner of slogans and watchwords; and always headed the march with music and banners. In fact, it was in every way a jolly time. If a great meeting was called, there would be tables spread with an abundance of substantial food ready cooked, contributed mostly by farmers of the neighborhood; so that every political meeting was a vast pic-nic. Though whiskey was not worth more than twenty cents a gallon, it was never furnished as a beverage, or even permitted at these meetings. The houses of Whigs were thrown open to those who attended the meetings from a great distance, where they were fed and lodged free. The ablest speakers were engaged to address these meetings, and discuss the questions at issue. Many of these speeches were powerful efforts of oratory,—few of them were poor,—and the eloquence of some would have been remarkable any where. Indeed, I have rarely seen better taste exhibited by the orator, or appreciation on the part of the audience. Speaking to large meetings of the people has now become a settled practice in all the States; and usually it is of a high order, dignified and addressed to appreciative listeners; and often its moral tone would do honor to the pulpit.

My experience of this election was in Ohio, where the country was well populated and farmers were wealthy. These meetings were held frequently at all the important

centres—often five or ten thousand assembling by mid-day. From the local centres they came in processions, with music, banners and insignia, according to fancy. General Harrison had fought a battle with the Indians at Tippecanoe, Indiana, from which he took the soubriquet of Old Tippecanoe. This suggested a canoe as an emblem; and, if possible, they would have a large one mounted on a wagon, drawn by four or six horses. This would be filled with men and boys, and sometimes girls, carrying banners and emblems. Then would follow a small log cabin, mounted on wheels, with a team of two or three pairs of horses; the cabin would be filled with men and boys, who sang songs, cracked jokes, and hurraed as the case required. Then the farmers' hay wagons trimmed with branches, came next, usually filled with good singers singing the songs of the times. Following these would come farm wagons, family carriages, etc., all filled with men, women, boys and girls. It might have seemed strange and thought useless to take the women and youth to such gatherings; and the Democrats did sneer at it as nonsense; but the Whigs understood their business and took them along. The boys and girls lent enthusiasm to the occasion, and the women gave it a domestic air; while they contributed an unfailing influence for good order, besides which they carried home with them the arguments and spirit of the speeches they heard.

The summer of 1840 appeared to be spent in electioneering. Both parties were active; but the Whigs had secured the popular heart, and they swept all before them. Gen. Harrison was elected by an overwhelming vote of the people and of the electors, and was inaugurated March the 4th, 1841. The Whigs, then in power, adopted Jackson's precedent, and set about taking charge of the Government, and changing the officers accordingly.

THE INAUGURATION of a President is in itself a simple ce-

remony, consisting merely of administering the oath of office. But where there is so little pageant, the most is made of it. and voluntarily displays are added. When the weather will permit, the ceremony takes place on the Eastern porch of the Capitol. A procession is formed to conduct the President to this place, in which the Army, Navy and Civil functionaries of the Government are represented, accompanied by the citizens generally. He is attended by the outgoing President, who presents him to the people; the Judges of the Supreme Court, by one of whom the oath is administered; and clergy, one of whom offers a prayer. He then delivers his inaugural address, in which his policy is usually marked out. If the weather is fine, which may not be the case at that season, it is all pleasant enough; but if it is stormy, it is anything else, since it is hard to compel a removal of the ceremony indoors, when the crowd desires to see it. Gen. Harrison was old, and though active, quite feeble. It proved too severe a test for him; and with other exposure and fatigue, it doubtless brought on pneumonia of which he died within a month.

He was succeeded by the Vice-President, who, having strong democratic sympathies, in a few months gathered around him an administration quite at variance with the party that elected him, and by whose aid he sought to secure his re-election. This was a staggering blow to the Whigs, who failed to institute any leading feature of their policy, as the Vice-President vetoed their strong measures when Congress passed them. They had a majority in both Houses, and yet could not command the two-thirds vote to overcome the vetoes, and were therefore held responsible for the action of Congress. They however made the best of it and rallied around Henry Clay as their next candidate.

Meanwhile the slave holding influence was making itself felt in national politics, and the annexation of Texas was demanded by that interest. The Democrats espoused this

policy openly, while the Whigs took decided ground against it. Both parties, however, avoided naming the *real* issue, (which was the extension of slavery), whenever they could. They preferred to treat it as a question of political economy, or, to discuss Banks, Tariffs, free trade and the like. But the cancer was extending its tentacles into the whole body politic, and the nation felt it. An anti-slavery party was formed and preparing to run a candidate for the Presidency. But many anti-slavery men preferred to remain with the two leading parties; the greatest proportion of these were in the Whig party, where they exerted a controlling influence in some localities. They hoped that finally one party would espouse their cause, and that they would thus be able to reform the national policy in this relation. But this slave-holding interest was a unit politically, and held a balance of power that would control everything short of over-powering opposition. Both parties professed to be neutral on this subject; and slave-holders acted with both. But the proposition to annex Texas, then existing as a State seceded from Mexico, to our Union, was a favorite measure in the Slave States, because it would open up an extensive territory for slave-holding emigration. The Democratic party espoused this project, and openly declared it as their policy. The Whigs opposed it, on the ground that we had territory enough, that it would provoke war with Mexico, that it was wrong in itself and bad policy. But on the question of slavery they declared neutrality.

In this state of affairs, the Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for the election of 1844. The Whigs presented Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and the anti-slavery party named James G. Birney, who had emancipated a large number of slaves. Mr. Clay was a slave-holder, yet understood to be opposed to an increase of Slave States; and he received a large support from men who, but for the hopelessness of accomplishing anything by a third party.

would have preferred Birney. In this way the contest opened. It was one of the early contests between slavery and freedom. The annexation of Texas was a synonyme for the extension of slavery — a fact that the politicians ignored, but none the less a fact. The slave-extension interest threw its balance of power for Polk, and elected him.

On the last day of Tyler's term; Congress, by an unprecedented proceeding, passed a Joint Resolution, by which Texas was admitted as a State into the Union. By this course the treaty making power was ignored and an insult heaped upon Mexico, a sister nation, too weak to resent it. The policy of wresting Texas from Mexico looked to further acquisition of territory from that nation. This was most readily effected by bringing about a war with that country. There was an unsettled boundary question between Texas and Mexico, which might have been settled by treaty; but instead, our troops were sent into the disputed territory, from which a collision resulted, and the first public information was the report of two sharp battles, in which the occupying force of Mexico was driven across the Rio Grande. This was in 1846. Congress was in session; and being appealed to, promptly voted men and ten millions to prosecute a war, which they declared "existed by the act of Mexico!" The Whigs regarded this as an outrage; but as a party they were silent—only sixteen men in the whole Congress having the courage to vote against the lying declaration that "war existed by the act of Mexico."

The leading Whigs were intent upon electing the next President. They feared the Democrats would take up some hero of this war. To forestall this, they nominated as their candidate in 1848, General Zachary Taylor, a successful captain, though a soldier of no political status. His residence was in Louisiana, and he held slaves. This, it was

thought, would make him acceptable to the South; and his military popularity was expected to carry him through. The Democrats by their words, and still more by their acts, were pledged to the slave policy of the South. The mass of the Whigs, as individuals, were known to be against it; and the best the party could do was to be neutral on the only question that anybody cared for. In this position they loaded themselves with the inconsistency of elevating the hero of a war that they denounced as atrociously unjust. This nomination of Taylor was the signal for thousands of the best of the Whigs to desert them, preferring defeat to such gross stultification.

Meantime the Democrats had a trouble. Many of their men were dissatisfied with the policy into which the leaders were driving the party on slavery and other questions. This formed a large sympathizing element, ready to unite with those who had forsaken the Whigs. The majority, however, nominated Gen. Lewis Cass, of Detroit.

But the anti-slavery party, not negligent of the state of affairs, called a convention at Buffalo, when they formed a union with the disgusted Whigs and Democrats, and organized the Free Soil party, upon a basis of free territory wherever State laws had not established slavery.

This new party presented Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. The votes given to this ticket were not sufficient in any State, to secure electoral votes; but they produced an effect upon the other parties that was felt by both. In New York they so divided the Democrats as to give the electoral vote to the Whigs, by which Gen. Taylor was elected President, and Millard Fillmore Vice-President.

The Whigs thus came into power, though in the minority, leaving the Democrats strong, whenever they could


make up their differences. In the treaty of Peace with Mexico, we acquired California, Utah and New Mexico, all which territory was free from slavery. The slave-holders asserted their right to take slaves into this territory. This the Whigs opposed for various prudential reasons; and having the power in Congress to control it, they effected the passage of the famous Compromise Measures of 1850, by which California was admitted as a free state and slavery limited to the South of latitude 35°, 30'. At the same time they passed a statute for the rendition of fugitive slaves, whose provisions were simply atrocious. It was fondly thought by both parties—and it was the work of both—that this would allay all strife and discussion of the slave question. But the love of liberty and natural regard for human rights with the people, was too strong to be bound by this chain. The man whose heart had burned and whose cheek had blanched, when at the bidding of this statute he refused a crust to the flying slave, and prayed that he might reach the snows of Canada, to *stand erect* under the Cross of St. George, when he must *crouch* beneath his own stars and stripes—was not the man to remain with the parties to this fearful compromise. Though it did not actually separate every true man from both parties, it alienated them, and especially disgusted those acting with the Whigs.

Gen. Taylor died in the sixteenth month of his term, when he was succeeded by Mr. Fillmore, who accepted and sustained the compromise policy, during an otherwise respectable administration.

In 1852, the Whigs nominated Gen. Winfield Scott for President. He had been a soldier of the war of 1812, and had successfully closed the war with Mexico; and they counted much on his military prestige. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce; and as they had regained some of their losses in New York, they felt pretty easy.

Both parties made declarations of principles in which they alike endorsed the compromises respecting slavery. This contest was clearly one of *ins* and *outs*. The slave-holder *believed* the Democrats and *doubted* the Whigs, while the anti-slavery man could depend on neither. The Free Soil party kept up their organization, and nominated the late Senator John P. Hale, without any striking effect. The Democrats literally "walked over the track." The Southern politicians now had their own way of it, and set about the extension of slavery into the new territories, insisting that they had the right to plant the institution anywhere and to continue it till it was expelled by some newly formed State from its limits. In this policy they repealed the laws restricting slavery to the South of 35°, 30'. Then followed the strife over the Nebraska and Kansas territories. The passage of the Nebraska Territory Bill, which admitted slavery into Nebraska and Kansas, was the signal for a general uprising over the whole North, and a new party rapidly formed in opposition to this measure, and all further extension of slavery. This was called, temporarily, the anti-Nebraska party, but soon after took on the name of *Republican*. They did not propose to abolish slavery in the States, where it was admitted to be under State control, but declared against its extension and for its extinction everywhere under the flag, outside of the slave States. This was essentially a measure of abolition. and the South so regarded it and treated it. Then the "irrepressible conflict" had actively begun.

About this time a party sprung up, who were called Know Nothings. They organized in secret and nominated candidates known only to themselves, and for purposes of their own. At the elections of 1854 and '55, they swept over the Northern States, overwhelming the Democrats, and intensely disgusting them and many Republicans. Their chief policy was the election to office of only native



Americans. *They* too divided upon the question of slavery, when the bulk of them turned in with the Republicans, and the party disappeared.

A few well meaning people, alarmed at a coming contest, and fearing the South might secede, tried to maintain a Union party. This only meant the compromises of 1850. For 1856, the Democrats nominated James Buchanan, the Republicans John C. Fremont, and the Union Party Millard Fillmore. The Democrats again carried the "solid South" and a few other States; the Republicans carried sixteen States of the North, but were so divided by the Union Party in Pennsylvania, that they lost that State—by which Buchanan was elected.

Party lines were now clearly drawn; and though in words the Republicans prudently declared only for the restricting of slavery to States where it belonged, every thinking and feeling man understood that its extinction was involved. In 1860, the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln with unanimity. The Democrats were divided among themselves, one faction supporting Stephen A. Douglass, as a compromise between North and South, and the other John C. Breckenridge as decidedly Southern. The election of Lincoln, the secession of the Southern States, and the war followed in quick succession; but they are so fresh in the minds of all, that I need not dwell upon them. The black man remembers this as the period when he passed from a *chattel* into a *man*; and the true American remembers it as the time when his flag ceased to cover slaves.

In 1864, Mr. Lincoln was re-nominated; and with a mistaken idea of conciliating a certain union element in the South, the Republicans chose Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, as Vice-President. The Democrats took Gen. McClellan as their candidate, who received but few electoral

votes. Mr. Lincoln had entered upon his second term but one month and ten days, when he was assassinated by a half mad tragedian, who had doubtless been instigated to the murder by those who expected Johnson to take sides with them in re-organizing the South.

Johnson finding himself at the head of the Government, assumed a really dictatorial position, and set about reconstructing the rebel States on a plan that suited the Democrats, whom he began to court, and to whom he shortly turned over the administration. The Republicans endured him with a bad grace at first and open rupture at last.

In 1868, the Republicans nominated Gen. Grant, and the Democrats Gov. Seymour of New York, Grant was elected by a large majority, and his administration was a fair one. It was however, the rule of a military man, and not agreeable to civilians in many respects. A class represented by Charles Sumner, separated from him; and in 1872 a considerable number of Republicans joined in presenting Horace Greeley as a candidate in opposition to Grant's re-election. The Democrats, as a *dernier resort* took up Greeley, which had the effect to concentrate the Republicans for Grant, who was again elected by a very strong vote. Grant's second administration, like his first, was moderate, but not popular, nor warmly supported by his own party. His opponents the Democrats and the Liberals, or Greeley faction, attacked him with every conceivable charge of misgoverning and wrong purpose—and among other things it was stoutly maintained that he intended to make himself master, and force his way into a third term. There were charges of corruption and malfeasance, and though these charges were not well founded, they were reiterated with so much pertinacity that they were *half* believed by many; and this in politics is about as bad as full faith. As the party in power, the Republicans had to bear the responsibility of all that went wrong. Besides this they managed very

badly as a party, permitting petty strifes to grow up among themselves, and allowing small matters to divide them, until they were nearly disintegrated. While their organization was in this manner weakening, the Democrats were improving theirs, and growing more compact and stronger every day; so that they managed to gain largely at the Congressional elections in 1874, until they had a strong majority in the House of Representatives. Thus encouraged, they made a vigorous push for the Presidency in 1876. As parties are apt to do, they made very free charges of corruption and general malfeasance against the Republicans, in which they were joined by the "Independents," raising a hue and cry, that led many honest people to believe that things were much worse than was the fact.

In June, 1876, the Republicans nominated for President, Rutherford B. Hayes, then Governor of Ohio, to which place he had been twice re-elected, a native of that State, a lawyer by profession and graduate of Harvard Law School, with Wm. A. Wheeler as Vice-President. Three weeks later, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, then Governor of New York, a lawyer of eminence, and a well known politician, with Governor Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

The election of electors took place on the seventh of November; and on the morning of the eighth, at all the telegraphic centres, the reports showed that electors had been chosen in seventeen States who would vote for Tilden, which would give him 184 of the 369 electoral votes. Most of the other States were known to have chosen electors favorable to Hayes, though it was supposed that some of them would be for Tilden. The Republicans generally, on the morning of the eighth, conceded the election of Tilden, until California, Oregon and Nevada

were heard from; when it was seen, that if Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina should have chosen Hayes electors, he would have 185 votes, or *one majority*. This was a close margin, and of course the country was in a state of excitement as to the result, which would turn upon the vote of these three States. As there was no contest as to the choice of electors in the other States, all eyes were turned to these three, and the public mind directed there, until the choice of electors should be decided in them. The newspapers and politicians of both parties claimed that *their* electors were chosen in these States; so that the public could not be informed of the result till the canvassing board of each State should decide it. These boards set about the work of canvassing the returns of the several precincts of their States immediately; and a number of prominent men of both parties repaired to the capitals of the States to see the canvass made, which was done openly and in the most formal manner, according to the laws of each State. In these States there exist statutes which provide that where force is used to constrain voters, or measures of intimidation or frauds are practiced, the poll of such precincts shall not be counted.

A careful canvass of the vote of South Carolina showed that the Hayes electors were chosen in that State, taking into the reckoning all the votes cast; and the State was declared to be for Hayes; and on the sixth of December, the Hayes electors cast the vote for him. The Tilden politicians contended that their electoral candidates were chosen, and they organized a college and cast their votes for Tilden. Both votes were returned to Washington—one certified according to law, and the other by a contesting party.

The same process was gone through in Florida, where it was found that there had been irregularities in a few precincts, affecting the results both ways. These were

corrected according to the laws of Florida, and the election of the Hayes electors certified by the legal board of the State. An irregular canvass of the election was made by the opposite party, by which Tilden's electors were declared chosen. Thus two sets of electoral votes were sent to Washington from Florida.

In Louisiana there had been an excited contest; and in many of the parishes there was practiced a system of intimidation, by which the negroes were deterred from voting; whilst various forms of fraud prevailed in many places. The negroes were naturally attached to the Republicans, and when free, would vote that ticket. They owe their deliverance from bondage to them, and until the last sentiment of gratitude expires in them, they will incline to the Republican party. But when the election was over, it was found that in many parishes, previously strongly Republican, there were no Republican votes reported. These were the parishes where the terrorism prevailed. The inference that the election had been unlawfully conducted was most natural. In Louisiana, as in all our States and in Canada, there are laws providing that an election which is unlawfully conducted, shall be void. In a short time after the election, the canvassing board of Louisiana began the canvass, which was conducted publicly, and witnessed by men of both parties, among whom were committees from the North, representing both Presidential candidates and their friends. The canvas was conducted under the most careful scrutiny and full examination of the returns and evidence concerning the character of the contest and the election. The returns from all the parishes upon their face showed a majority for the Tilden electors; but the corrected returns, after setting aside the precincts where there had been intimidation, or fraud, gave a majority for Hayes. The canvassing board so declared, and certified the Hayes electors. As in the case of Florida, an

opposition electoral college was organized, which voted for Tilden and returned that vote to Washington. The question to be decided was—which set of electoral candidates was lawfully chosen? The apparent return was for Tilden; the corrected return was for Hayes. The canvassing board had to decide between these two, and they adopted the letter of the law for their guide. The defeated party denounced the decision of course, as is always the case; but that decision was final. I am not a court of appeal in the case, and I have not, and could not have, the evidence before me; therefore I make no criticism. It happens to suit me. If it did not, I should feel bound to acquiesce and recognize the majesty of the law.

The canvassing of the popular vote for electors was completed in all the States by the fifth of December. On the sixth, the Electoral Colleges organized cast their votes, sealed up, certified and forwarded their returns to the President of the Senate. But for the popular excitement, these returns would have rested till the 14th of February, the day fixed by law for opening and counting the vote, as quoted above. But the decision was really known;—185 of the electoral votes were known to have been given for Hayes, by which he was elected. It was but one of a majority, and this was a temptation to the Democrats to try if they could not save themselves in the count. The House of Representatives was with them; and they insisted that the count should be made by Congress, under a rule that if either House refused to accept the vote of a State, it should be thrown out. This would practically give the election to Congress; and the Republicans resisted the project on constitutional grounds. The Democrats meanwhile kept up a clamor and filled the whole country with charges of fraud, threats of civil war and all manner of troubles, till peaceable people were ready to agree to almost any terms. The Republicans insisted that the vote

should be opened, as provided in the constitution, by the President of the Senate, and this they held to be the only thing proper to do. After much agitation of the public mind and various discussions in Congress, it was proposed that an act should be passed, in the way of a compromise, providing specially for counting the vote in this case. Accordingly a joint committee of both parties, and both Houses was appointed to prepare a plan that would be accepted by both parties, and report a bill. This project was generally opposed by the Republicans and zealously supported by the Democrats. It was, however, passed in the Senate with a reluctant acquiescence of the Republicans, while the House gave it a strong Democratic majority.

This Act provided for the appointment of a Commission to superintend the opening and counting of the votes, and to decide upon any disputed return or vote. The Commission was to be made up of five Senators, two of whom, it was agreed, would be Democrats; and five Representatives, two of whom should be Republicans, thus giving each party five of their choice members of Congress. Then of the associate Judges of the Supreme Court, two Democrats and Republicans were appointed by name, and it was made the duty of these four Judges to select another of their associates, who should be the umpire. Of the remaining Judges there were four, one being regarded as an independent in politics—Judge Davis, of Illinois—but just after the Act became a law, the Democrats of Illinois elected Judge Davis to the U. S. Senate. This left but three to choose from. Judge Bradley, who was regarded as a moderate Republican, was chosen, and the Commission organized. The act provided that the counting should begin on the first day of February, taking the States alphabetically, the President of the Senate opening the votes, and tellers recording them, until a disputed State should be reached, when the question was to be referred

to the Commission. The counting was to be in the presence of a joint meeting of both Houses, who were not permitted to adjourn until the count was completed, though they could transact other business, when the Commission should be absent considering a question. Able attorneys were employed on both sides as counsel, who argued the points at issue before the Commission, though the deliberations of the Commission itself were exclusively private.

When the State of Florida was reached, the two returns from that State were referred to the Commission. After a very thorough consideration and full arguments on both sides, the Commission decided, by a vote of eight *yeas* and seven *nays*, a strict party vote, that the properly authenticated return contained the votes in favor of Hayes, and ordered them to be so counted. The count then proceeded to Louisiana, when the returns from that State were referred to the Commission, who again retired and heard arguments and considered the character of the returns, when they again decided the true return to be that of the Hayes votes, and by the same vote of eight to seven. The same proceeding was had as to South Carolina, with the same decision and same vote. The holding of the Commission was that these returns were found to be properly certified as containing the votes of the electors, chosen according to the laws of the States respectively; and that neither the Commission nor Congress had any right to go behind these returns and canvas the election as held in the States.

At the close of this lecture, I was asked of which party was Judge Bradley, the fifteenth man, or the umpire. He is, as I have understood, a Republican, as are all the Supreme Court but two, who were already on the Commission. But that is no reason why he should not have

rendered an upright decision, as may be seen by the arguments. The fact that the seven Democrats on the Commission voted *no* in these decisions, does not prove anything; since after the decision was established by the eight, it left them at liberty to vote with their party. Had the decision and its responsibility devolved upon one of the seven, he might have felt constrained to vote differently. Judge Bradley did not put himself on the Commission, nor was he put there by Republican action. The Commission was a Democratic creature, and was accepted by the Republicans as a sacrifice of their preference to the cause of peace.

The constitution prescribes that no man shall be chosen an elector who holds a U. S. office. This was overlooked in a few cases, and two or three postmasters of small places were voted for as electors. As they were not eligible, there was a failure to elect in their cases, and when the colleges were organized the other electors filled the vacancy. In Oregon there was one of these cases, where a Mr. Watts, a postmaster, was elected. When it was seen that one vote would turn the scale, the Democrats set about securing this vote; and the Governor of Oregon, who is of that party, assumed to decide that, as Watts was not eligible, though the Hayes majority in Oregon was over 1,300, a Mr. Cronin, a candidate for Tilden elector, was elected instead. The true effect in this case was that only two electors were chosen. But the Governor proclaimed Cronin and two Hayes men the electors, and gave Cronin the certificates for the three, which he put into his pocket, and refused to let the others see them; on which the two undisputed Hayes applied to the Secretary of State, who is the canvassing officer in Oregon, for certified returns of the election, which he furnished. They then organized the college and filled the vacancy with Watts, who had resigned his post-office, and then gave the three votes for

Hayes. Meanwhile Cronin organized himself into a college with *two* vacancies, which he filled with men who had never been voted for; who then cast one vote for Tilden and two for Hayes. It was thus that there came to be two returns from Oregon. The commission soon disposed of them, awarding the votes to Hayes; and this was decided by more than a party vote. The Cronin vote was too undignified a piece of injustice to command any respect. It is asked why the Governor's certificate was not final in the Oregon case as in Florida, etc. The Secretary of State, and not the Governor of Oregon, is the canvassing officer of that State. The other returns were certified by the canvassing boards, of which the Governors were members only.

I have heard much said about the injustice of not giving the Presidency to the man who received the greatest popular vote. To explain this, I refer to the constitution which expressly provides that the President is *not* to be chosen by the popular voice, but by the *States*. Much also is said about the colored voters, who are extremely ignorant. This is a misfortune; and the ignorance of the voter is always to be deplored; but it does not appear possible to mark the standard of intelligence necessary to draw the line. If the ignorant man is to be excluded from the polls, I look for a light vote in most places; and the Southern States would not suffer the diminution alone. I admit the unfitness of the great mass of negroes as voters; but I cannot avoid the same opinion respecting a vast proportion of whites. In the Southern States twenty per cent of the *white* voters cannot read or write. There is little justice in refusing the vote to the humble negro, because he is ignorant, and giving it to the vicious whites who break up negro schools. The right to vote is a necessity with the negro, to protect his poorest rights. But for it, he would be re-enslaved under some legal device. The

condition of the South is one of political lameness, that must be borne with till time and good policy can cure it.

The final decision of this strife is before the country, ending in the election of Mr. Hayes; and it is a most remarkable fact, that clamorous as was the opposition to his installation in the office, the result of this decision has been followed with quiet; and his measures of policy as laid down in his inaugural address, and thus far indicated, have been accepted with more unanimity by the whole people, and his sincerity and earnestness of purpose conceded more generally, than has been the case with any President for many terms. To the war of words and the vociferous threatenings of a few weeks ago, there has succeeded a peace and state of good feeling that the nation has rarely enjoyed.

OUR ENGLISH FRIENDS.

Among the incidents calculated to interest the votaries of Natural History, may be noted, the arrival at Quebec of the English Sparrow, some ten or twelve years ago, for which Canadians, if not the Sparrows, can thank Colonel W. Rhodes, of Benmore, one of our valued Associate Members. A few years later on, Montreal invited to its squares and house tops the hardy transatlantic stranger. Finally, other Canadian cities, tendered civil rights to the "wee birdie."

One of our Corresponding and Honorary Members, William Kirby, Esquire, of Niagara, has recently greeted in mellifluous verse, the early friends of his youth. It is with sincere pleasure, we make room for this poetical contribution, equally creditable to the heart and the head of the writer.

THE SPARROWS.

BY WILLIAM KIRBY.

Author of "Le Chien d'Or."

On seeing a flock of English Sparrows at my door, on the shore of Lake Ontario,
December 10th, 1876.

I SAT within my window, and looked forth
Upon a scene of cold magnificence.
Winter was come—Canadiah winter—keen,
Austere and rude, maker of hardy men,
And women fairer than the south wind knows.
My garden, lately full of summer bloom,
Lay 'neath a sheet of snow—flower and leaf
Cut down by killing frost were dead and buried;
The cedars bent to breaking, and in drift
Knee-keep the sombre trees stood gaunt and bare.
With all their buds sealed up until the spring.
A plain, the threshing floor for winter's flails,
Wind-blown and swept, lay just beyond the lawn
Where snow heaps thrice sifted by the blast,
And wreathed like rams horns, over-peered the hedge,
And filled the garner of the cold north wind.
Beyond the plain, 'neath banks precipitous,
Stretched the vast lake covered with floating ice,
Its billows striving vainly to lift up
Their angry crests above the heaving mass
That overlay the struggling, groaning sea;
While the Frost-giant's breath in the keen air
Rose up like steam against the northern sky.

The scene was grand, but use so blunts the sense—
For thirty winters I had seen the same,—
That, like the weary king, I looked and said:
"There's nothing new of all beneath the sun!"
Of vanities the vainest is to live,
If each to-morrow be as yesterday,—
A beaten round that ends where it began.
God's presence and creative touch on all
Seemed things far off with boyhood's happy days,
Shut up in Eden like the primal world,
With flaming swords to guard it evermore.

But yet, though overlaid with years and care,
The boy is in the man. The Eden seen
By eyes of innocence in life's awaking,
Is like the lily's root beneath the snow,—
Asleep, not dead, ready to bloom again
Clothed in the spring with robes now wove in heaven
I, too, had shared the common lot; eaten
The fruit forbidden, drank, to quench my thirst,
Of cisterns hewn by men; still more unsated
As more I quaffed the bright, dead waters; while
The living stream beneath God's threshold, ever
Gushed forth a flood to swim in like a river

So sat I yesterday with weary eyes
Looking at leafless trees, and snow-swept plains,
And broad Ontario's ice-encumbered sea.
My thoughts had wandered in a waking dream,
Across the deep abyss of vanished years,
To that dear land I never saw again.
When suddenly a fluttering of wings
Shook the soft snow—a twittering of birds
Chirping a strange old note, but heard before
In English hedges and on roofs red-tiled,
Of cottage homes that looked on village greens!
An old familiar note! Who says the ear
Forgets a voice once heard? the eye, a charm?
The heart, affection's touch from man or woman?
Not mine at least! I knew my own bird's language;
And recognised their little forms with joy.

A flock of English sparrows at my door,
With feathers ruffled in the freeing wind
Claimed kinship with me—hospitality!—
Brown coated things! not for uncounted gold
Would I have made denial of their claims!
Five! six! ten! twenty! But I lost all count
In my great joy. Whence come I knew not; glad
They came to me, who loved them for the sake
Of that dear land at once both theirs and mine.

I ran to get the food I knew they liked;
Remembering how—a child—in frost and snow
I used to scatter crumbs before the door,
And wheat in harvest gleaned to feed the birds
Which left us not in winter, but made gay
The bleak, inclement season of the year.
The sparrows chirped and pecked while eyeing me
With little diamond glances, like old friends,
As round my feet they fluttered, hopped and fed,
In perfect confidence and void of fear.

Their forms, their notes, their pretty ways so strange,
Yet so familiar—like a rustic word
Learned in my childhood and not spoken since—
All! all came back to me! and as I looked
And listened—a thousand memories rose up
Like a vast audience at the nation's song!

Old England's hills and dales of matchless charm,
Sweeping in lines of beauty, stood revealed:
Her skies of frequent change and winds that waft
The soft and measured chime of sabbath bells.
Her fragrant lanes where woodbine trailed the hedge,
And little feet with mine ran side by side
As we plucked primroses, or marked the spot
Where blackbird, thrush or linnet reared its young,
While sang the cuckoo on the branching tree.
Those meadows, too! Who could forget them ever!
So green! with buttercups and daisies set,
Where sky-larks nested and sprang up at dawn
To heaven's top, singing their rapturous lay!
Those gentle rivers, not too large to grasp
By the strong swimmer of his native streams;
Those landward homes that breed the nation's strength;
Those beaconed cliffs that watch her stormy seas
Covered with ships that search all oceans round;
Those havens, marts, and high-built cities, full
Of work and wealth and men who rule the world!
All rose before me in supernal light,
As when beheld with childhood's eyes of strength,
And stirred my soul with impulses divine.

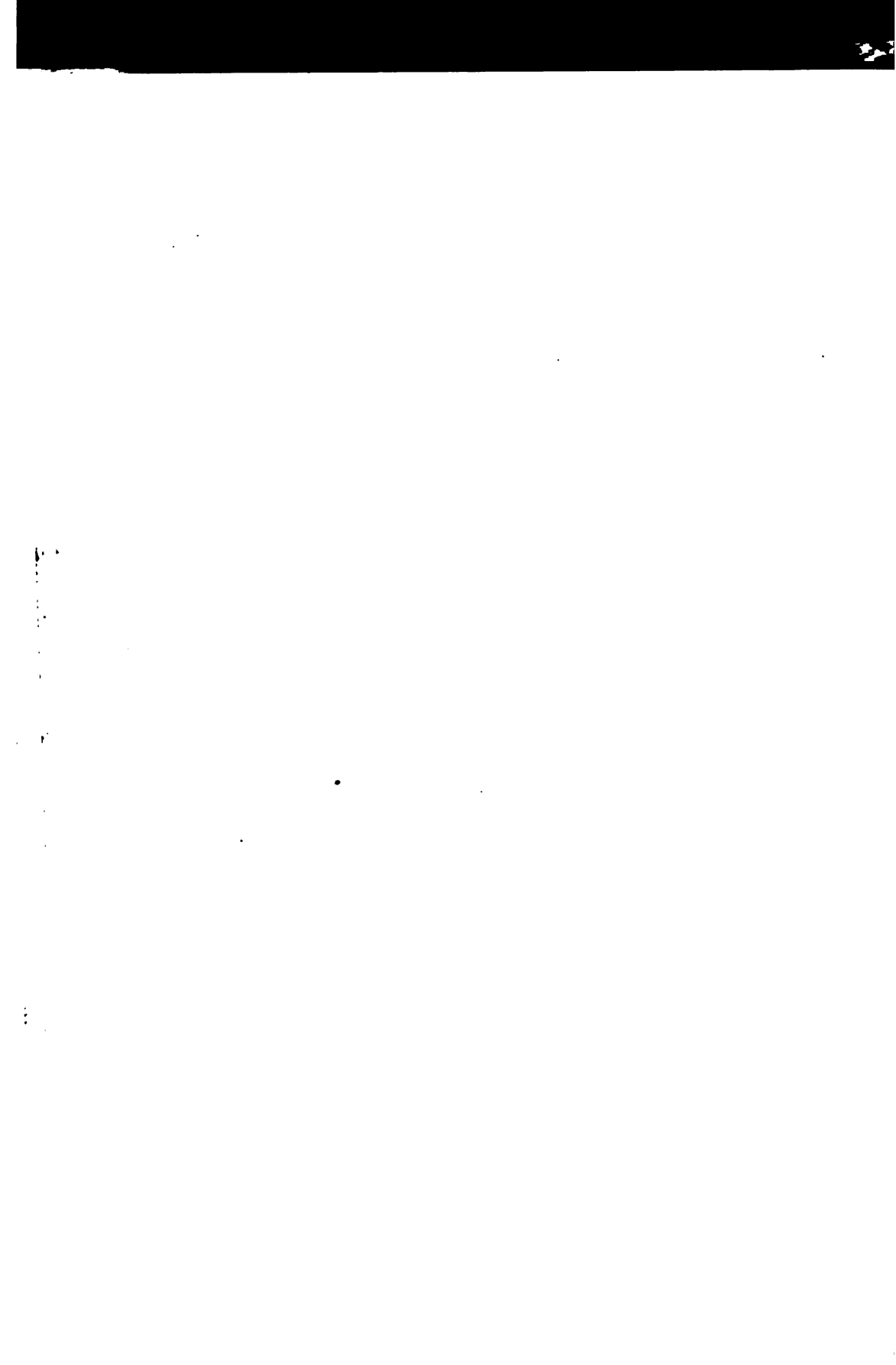
My heart opened its depths—glad tears and sad
Mingled upon my cheek, which forty years
Strange winds had fanned and heat and cold embrowned.
God's hand is nearer than we think—a touch
Suffices to restore the dead; a word
Becomes a wonder of creative power.
The little sparrows in their rustic speech
Talking a tongue I knew—this message brought
From Christ who spake it, merciful to man:
"Are not two sparrows for a farthing sold
And not one falls without the Father's leave?
Fear not therefore! for of more value, ye,
Than many sparrows, yea, whose very hairs
Are numbered by the loving care of God."

I blessed the little messengers who brought
These words of consolation from my Lord,
To teach me resignation, hope and peace.

Like children in a darkened room we cry,
Despairing for the light when 'tis most nigh!
And Oh, my brother! Tried and tempted sore,
And losing of't thy solitary way!
When ere thou feel'st forgotten of his care,
Eating thy crust in discontent and pain,
Perplexed with bootless questioning of fate,
Or racked by stern inquisitors of doubt
Over life's issues and the ways of God;
Be patient. Bide thy time. All will be well.
The callow bird must wait its wings to fly,
And so must thou! God's love is law in love,
Working in elements of moral strife
That will not yield obedience but with pain.

"Perfect through suffering." Comprehend'st thou that?
Upon the cross who was it dying, cried,
In the last agony that rends the soul:
"Eli! Eli! Lama sabachthani?"
No other way! Christ, too, must drink that cup
Before his human life was made divine
And our redemption possible from sin!
Or, if a gentler lesson thou would'st learn,
Dismayed at those tremendous mysteries,
Think of the birds, the lilies, all things, He
Takes care of to the end: why not of thee?
But while their round of life is here complete,
Thine but begins! The law of laws is love,
That needs two worlds to perfect all of man,
And an eternity to teach God's ways!

Wait humbly, then! placing thy hand in His
To lead thee from the dark up to the light!
Although the floods beat high against thy house,
And earthy clouds obscure thy mortal sight,
"God sits upon the flood—a king forever!"
And in those clouds at last shall be revealed!
Build on the rock thy soul's foundation firm,
And earth and sea may pass, but thou shalt live!
The sparrows trusted thee—trust thou thy Lord.



Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1875.

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society have the honour to report to the members, that since the last Annual General Meeting held in their rooms, on the 13th of January, 1875, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the list of membership.

They have to announce with regret their loss by death of the following members:— J. B. Parkin, Esq., George Thomson, Esq., Edwin Trass, Esq., of Paris, and by resignation — nine members. On the other hand, they have great pleasure in announcing that twenty-three new members have been elected since the last Annual General Meeting. The number of members is now 345.

The following papers have been read:—

I. On the Aboriginal History of Great Britain, by Hon. W. C. Howells, Consul for the United States of America, read the 17th February, 1875.

II. On the Intellectual Progress of Canada since 1824, by the President, Professor James Douglas, Jr., read the 3rd March, 1875.

III. Recollections of a Summer Cruise in the Arctic Regions, fifty-six years ago, by James Douglas, Esq., M.D., read the 17th March, 1875.

IV. On Jerome Savonarola, by E. J. Fletcher, Esq., read the 7th April, 1875.

V. On some things belonging to the settlement of the Valley of Ohio, by Hon. W. C. Howells, Consul for the United States of America, read the 19th May, 1875.

VI. On the Roman Pandects, by R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq., Vice-President of the Society, read the 4th December, 1875.

The Council beg leave to inform the Society that a volume of the new series of the Transactions, Part II, has been published, and is now ready for distribution among the members.

It has also the pleasure to state that under the auspices of the Society the fourth series of manuscripts relating to the early history of Canada, has recently issued, containing four important MSS., viz:—

No. 1. A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, May 8, 1759,—the original MS. being the property of J. M. LeMoine, Esq.

No. 2. General Orders in Wolfe's Army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759.

No. 3. Journal du Siège de Québec en 1759 — par Jean Claude Panet, témoin oculaire.

No. 4. Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American Rebels in Autumn 1775 and winter 1776. (Hugh Finlay.)

In addition to these valuable Historical Documents, there is one which will prove interesting to the student of History appended to the article in the Transactions on Card Currency, viz:—“Convention for the liquidation of the Canada paper money between the King of Great Britain

and the King of France.” The MS. is the property of Dr. H. H. Miles, author of the History of Canada, who kindly placed it at the service of the author of the article.

The Society, from its infancy, seems to have understood the important mission which its Charter imposed upon it, with regard to the publication of documents relating to the early times of our history. Many of its Patrons, Presidents and leading members specially favored this course. We may mention in 1838 the Earl of Durham—one of our ablest colonial administrators; the historian Garneau; the learned Abbé John Holmes, Director of the Quebec Seminary. One of our most laborious Presidents, the late G. B. Faribault, made it a life occupation and labor of love; and later on, circumstances alone prevented the Society from carrying out to its fullest extent, the publication of Champlain's voyages, which originated under another President, John Langton, Esquire. The first publication of magnitude was the printing in 1838 of “*Mémoires sur le Canada, 1749—1760*”—due chiefly to the efforts of the late G. B. Faribault. The most curious memoir, on the last years of French rule, was so much sought after that in a few years the edition was exhausted. It is one of the works we have lately thought proper to reprint. The re-printing and re-publication from Hackluyt of the *Voyages de Jacques Cartier* followed by the *Routier* of Jean Alphonse de Xaintouge, soon after attracted the notice of all students of Canadian History.

For some years the Society's zeal seemed to flag. In 1866 a Committee was formed to assist Mr. J. M. LeMoine in the selection of MSS. for publication; and from that time to the present of the MSS. printed save two, were selected and revised by him; this involved the correction of some thousands of pages of *proofs*.

The Society has long felt the want of a fire-proof chamber as a depository for the safe-keeping of valuable works,

manuscripts, and records, the destruction of which would prove an irreparable loss. For the preservation of such, the Governors of Morrin College have, with their usual liberality, placed at the disposal of the Society an arched chamber in the basement of the building, which has been rendered fire and burglar proof by the addition of iron doors and other improvements which were deemed necessary.

The Misses Neilson offered to entrust to the keeping of the Society the invaluable collection of books, including a complete fyle of the *Quebec Gazette* since 1764, made by the late Hon. John Neilson. The Council hope that their successors in office may soon be in a position to announce that this collection has been placed in safety, by the ladies referred to having availed themselves of the provision which has been made for the preservation of books and papers that are most rare.

The Library has been enriched by the addition of 312 volumes of the higher current literature. The Council trust that the selection of books which has been made may be considered judicious, and calculated to minister to the varied tastes of the members of the Society. The report on the Library gives full particulars of the purchases during the last year, to which the Council refer.

The report of the Curator of the Museum will be found interesting. The specimens of birds are in a state of good preservation, and the collection no doubt continues to prove serviceable and interesting to the student of ornithology. The Council cannot allude to the few Indian reliques in the Museum without expressing the hope that donations and additions may be made to that department, such as pipes, axes, hammer-stones, spears, and arrow-points. It is most desirable to increase the archæological collection. In this neighborhood, perhaps, more than in any other in

Canada, reliques and memorials elucidating Indian life in the past may be obtained in sufficient numbers to render the Museum more attractive and more interesting to the antiquary and the student of archæology than it is at present.

The Council cannot omit making mention of the commemoration in the rooms of the society, of the centennial anniversary of the successful defence of Quebec in 1775. The co-operation of the members generally rendered the celebration a marked success. Historical papers bearing on the subject were read on the occasion by Colonel Strange and J. M. LeMoine, Esq., which, together with an account of the proceedings of the evening, will be published in pamphlet form.

With regard to the financial affairs of the Society, the Council refer to the accompanying report on the state of the funds, submitted by the Treasurer. It will be readily seen that, unusual expenditures have been made of late, viz:—In publishing, and in the purchase of books for the library; in providing a place of safety for the property of the society; and in defraying the expenses connected with the commemoration. The balance, however, which would otherwise have appeared in the hands of the Treasurer is represented, in part, by well selected works now on the shelves of the library, by the printed transactions, historical manuscripts, and interchanges which have been made with kindred societies. There is no darkness but ignorance, and that we seek to dispel by diffusing knowledge, and by publishing interesting documents and information which may be useful to those who aim at improvement, and who labor for the advancement of art and science.

The Council announce with sincere regret the loss to the Society by the death of their Assistant-Secretary, Mr. William Judd, who for several years past had so efficient—y

discharged the duties assigned to him. They have engaged the services of Mr. Macdonald, who, they trust, will prove no unworthy successor to the former occupant of the office.

They very much regret the absence of the President, Professor James Douglas, Jr., who has left this city to reside in the United States of America. The Council cannot express themselves in terms too laudatory of the great services he rendered during his long connection with this Society, in which he filled every important office demanding mental labor. On leaving his native for a new home, an address was read and presented to him, which, together with his answer, is on record in the minutes of proceedings, It is gratifying to the Council to be enabled to state that Mr. Douglas' connection with the Society will not be entirely severed, as he will continue to contribute to the "Transactions;" and some time during the current session he will visit Quebec and read the address which he has prepared for the year that has just ended.

JAMES STEVENSON,
Vice-President.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER, 31st, 1875.

The Librarian, in rendering an account of the department under his care, would remark that the excellent Library on these shelves continues to be well appreciated, as is evinced by the large number of volumes taken out during the past year, viz:—2,912 against 2,653 of the year preceding. (Issues in 1873 2,108, in 1870, 1,499.)

Eighty-three vols. have been added to the Library by donation or exchange. The benefactors have been H. S. Scott, Esq., M. Latour Huguët, the Governments of Quebec and Ontario, and many learned societies whose transactions have been forwarded to us. A detailed list of these donations is appended to this report.

The additions by purchase during the past year number 312 volumes, which may be classified as follows: History 22, Natural Science 19, Travels 56, Biography 16, and Modern Literature, &c. 199. The Society considering that its duty lay in specially collecting the works of native talent has devoted a compartment to Canadian authors, and many additions have been made thereto during the past year, the works added being principally in the French language.

The departure of Mr. Douglas has been felt in the Library, as at the time of his leaving Quebec he expected to procure large additions to the Library by personal selection during his travels, but he was prevented from carrying out

his intentions and thus the purchase of many useful works has been delayed, the procuring of which will devolve upon the Council for the ensuing year. Members are reminded of the Recommendation Book in which they may inscribe the titles of wished for works. These suggestions will always be thankfully received. The much regretted demise of the late acting librarian Mr. Judd, left a vacancy not easily filled, but his successor Mr. McDonald, when he will have had the personal knowledge of the books which time alone can give, will prove an efficient officer.

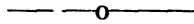
The chronic complaint of this, in common no doubt with all libraries, is that books are taken out and tardily returned, if returned at all. It is to be hoped, especially with regard to new books, that subscribers will pay more attention to the rule allowing fifteen days only for the detention of a volume. Books are sometimes lost completely, and sometimes though in the Library they can with difficulty be found. The latter trouble may be obviated by numbering the books and shelves, thus giving each volume its permanent place, and I would recommend that this should be done as soon as convenient, but the abstraction of books without the knowledge of the librarian can only be prevented by placing the books under lock and key or behind counters as is the case in most large libraries. However, the present system of open shelves is so much more convenient and pleasant to those members who frequent the room that a change cannot be recommended.

The reading room furnished with an increased number of periodicals continues to be largely used. The evening attendance up to date this winter is an improvement on previous seasons.

The whole respectfully submitted.

RODERICK McLEOD,
Librarian.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.



DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY DURING THE YEAR 1875.

New England Historical Geneological Society— Collections.....	36 Nos.
Harvard College—Memorial Biographies.....	2 Vols.
Essex Institute—Bulletin.....	1 “
Mercantile Library Association—Report.....	1 “
Royal United Service Institution—Journal.....	1 “
Boston Society of Natural History—Memoirs.....	4 “
Henry S. Scott, Esq., — Jules Verne's Voyage autour du Monde.....	1 “
Do—Stadford's Map of Polar Regions.....	1 “
Academy of Science of St. Louis—Transactions....	1 “
Quebec Government Statutes.....	2 “
Do Sessional Papers.....	2 “
American Academy—Proceedings.....	1 “
Philosophical Society of Glasgow—Proceedings....	1 “
American Antiquarian Society— do	1 “
Province of Quebec—Reports and Surveys.....	6 “
Province of Ontario—Journals Legislative Assem- bly.....	1 “
Knight Templars New Hampshire—Proceedings..	2 “
New Hampshire Historical Society— do ..	2 “
Public Library of Boston—Reports, &c.....	3 “
Royal Geological Society of Ireland—Reports, &c.	1 “
Through Smithsonian Institute—Sundry.....	10 “
<hr/>	
Total.....	80 Vols.
M. Latour Huquet—Annales de Ville-Marie.....	3 “
<hr/>	
	83 Vols.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1875.

The Museum of the Society is, comparatively speaking, of recent date. Two successive conflagrations, had swept the specimens of former years—less varied, and, in my opinion, less attractive than those we now possess. They were chiefly composed of ores, metals, some few birds, and last, though not least, the largest denizens of our forests. -

A short retrospect of the past may not be out of place. Our seniors can yet recall to mind the Society's huge black bear, a colossal moose, some graceful red deers, together with the well known cariboo. The art of the taxidermist had made them loom out as large as life; we can remember well their stately gravity, in the vacant rooms of the Union Hotel, Place d'Armes, and subsequently amongst the cobwebs, in the attic of the old Parliament Buildings. Doubtless, that enthusiastic naturalist, Pierre Chasseur, himself the proprietor of a museum, had been employed to procure, and Mr. Kendall, a good taxidermist, to stuff these samples of Canadian game.

About 1854, and again about 1860, the fiery scourge, which has so often devastated Quebec, devoured these treasures of art and nature. A fresh collection was then commenced, in the rooms occupied at that date in the Masonic Hall, St. Louis street. Our institution having engaged

an assistant Librarian, Custodian and Taxidermist, Wm. Couper, late of Toronto, a new impetus was communicated, especially to Ornithology and Zoology. Being at that time engaged in compiling the history of the Birds of Canada, I was asked to superintend the selection and formation of the new museum. To the Birds, eggs and specimens procured and stuffed by Mr. Couper, large additions were made, some by gift—some by purchase—others by exchange. It became a pleasant task to carry out a scheme which every successive Board of Directors seemed to have so much at heart. Our collection of birds and animals now comprises nearly the two-thirds of our Fauna, and the birds, eggs, contributed by gift and purchase, form a most valuable selection.

About three years back, the specimens requiring more space, the Society on the recommendation of the Curator incurred the expense of the handsome center square case in glass and mahogany in which, the ducks, grouse and some wold animals are seen to so much advantage.

Other departments of the sciences soon claimed our notice, especially archæology and numismatics.

Dr. Marsden, the Vice-President, was instrumental in obtaining for the Society, on reasonable terms, a most beautiful and complete sett of United States Medals—Presidential—Army and Navy—this is not the only debt of gratitude the museum owes to this old and valuable member. Mr. Alfred Sandham, Numismatist of Montreal, may also be considered one of the principal benefactors to this department. Another Branch which it has been my good fortune to see much increased was that relating to the Canadian and foreign woods. The latter was a gift from a member, Dr. H. Miles, the historian.

Our archæological collection, our Indian curiosities, we

owe to the untiring energy and to the generosity of a regretted late President, Dr. W. J. Anderson.

Want of space has compelled us to leave comparatively in abeyance the Ichthyology and Flora of Canada. A herbarium of lovely flowers is the source of too pure pleasure to the lover of nature to be long forgotten.

Our Vice-President has dwelt at sufficient length on other wants of the Museum; it is unnecessary for me to enlarge on them. Let us hope that, with a continuance of the prosperity which hitherto has lit up our path, ere-long, the Museum will be worthy of the enlightened Society which now claims it as its own.

Respectfully submitted.

J. M. LEMOINE,
Curator.

Literary and Historical Society OF QUEBEC.

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DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM—1875.

- P. Poulin, Esq.:—Horns of Chamois; Rosary from Jerusalem.
- G. Vogt, Esq.:—Silver coin of Chili; Italian coin of Napoleon; 1 Russian coin.
- Mrs. Algernon Sewell:—Knife from India.
- J. S. Budden, Esq.:—Grape shop found on the Plains of Abraham.
- J. C. Cattanach, Esq.:—Silver coin of the Republic of Haiti.
- A. Graham, Esq.:—Medal of George I.
- H. Dinning, Esq.:—Model of the "Royal William," first steamship that crossed the Atlantic.
- R. Craig, Esq.:—French silver coin found in the ruins of a house at St. Foye.
- Rev. C. W. Rawson:—Two copies re-prints of the "Times."
- Col. J. F. Turnbull:—Reprints of the first copy of the "Times" and other newspapers.
- Prof. J. Douglas:—Tablet with Cuneiform characters.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 1875.

*Quebec Literary and Historical Society in account with the
Treasurer.*

DR.

1875.—To balance on hand.....	\$ 603 76
“ Government Grant for 1874.....	750 00
“ “ “ “ 1875.....	750 00
“ Interest on deposits in Savings' Bank....	42 94
“ Sale of Transactions, &c.....	12 75
“ Subscriptions from Members.....	1052 25

\$3211 80

CR.

1875.—By paid Rent.....	\$ 200 00
“ “ Books, periodicals, printing and advertising.....	1638 26
“ “ Salaries.....	258 30
“ “ Gas and fuel.....	156 74
“ “ Insurance.....	52 75
“ “ Commission on collections.....	73 80
“ “ Iron doors for vault and mason work.....	180 87
“ “ Window blinds.....	28 00
“ “ Incidental expenses.....	203 54

BALANCE.

1876.	
Jan. 1.—Historical Document Fund.....	\$152 17
Life Members' Fund.....	54 65
General Fund.....	212 62
	<u>419 44</u>
	<u>\$3211 70</u>

WM. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

Literary and Historical Society OF QUEBEC.

OFFICE BEARERS FOR THE YEAR 1876.

President JAMES STEVENSON.

	|	LT.-COL. T. B. STRANGE, R.A.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>....	|	R. S. M. BOUCHETTE, Advocate.
	|	H. S. SCOTT,
	|	WM. BOSWELL, M.D.

Treasurer..... WM. HOSSACK.

Librarian.... R. MCLEOD.

Recording Secretary... C. TESSIER, Notary.

Corresponding Secretary..... WM. CLINT.

Council Secretary .. ALEX. ROBERTSON, Advocate.

Curator of the Museum. J. M. LEMOINE, Advocate,
Ex.-President.

Curator of Apparatus..... COMMANDER ASHE, R.N.,
F.R.S., Ex-President.

(REV. H. D. POWIS,

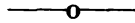
Additional Memb

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Literary and Historical Society

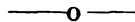
OF QUEBEC.



REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1876.



The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec have the honour to report to the members of the Society that, since the last annual general meeting, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret their loss by death of two members: J. G. Colston, Esq., B.A., LL. M., advocate; and Colonel B. C. A. Gagy, whose name cannot be mentioned without evoking associations with the Military and Political History of the Colony.

By resignation they have lost one member.

On the other hand, four Honorary Members, and three Corresponding Members—all men of distinguished merit—have been elected, and thirty-four new names have been added to the list of associate members.

The following papers have been read:

I. "On Presidential Elections," by Hon. W. C. Howells, Consul for the United States of America.

II. "On the Winter Navigation of the St. Lawrence," by E. Sewell, Esq.

Since the last annual general meeting, the Library has been increased by the addition of two hundred and one volumes of the higher current literature. The selection of the books have been made with care, and with due regard to the varied tastes of the members of the Society. The report of the Librarian, which will be read with interest, gives full particulars of the purchases and donations of books during the last year; in addition to which, several blanks in the files of the *Quebec Gazette* have been supplied by the purchase of volumes which were wanting. The Council hope soon to announce that they have succeeded in completing this valuable record.

For the convenience of members, an arrangement has recently been entered into with the Assistant Librarian, whereby his attendance at the rooms extends from ten A. M., till six P.M., daily, (Sundays and Holidays excepted,) and further, from seven P.M., till ten P.M., during the winter session. This service has entailed considerable expense upon the Society, but it is gratifying to learn that it has not been incurred in vain,—the rooms of the Society never were more frequently than they are now; nor has the usefulness of the Institution ever been more extended than it is at the present time.

The report of the Curator of the Museum will be found most satisfactory. The valuable specimens of the Fauna of the country are in a state of excellent preservation; and although few additions have been made to the department of Natural History, other departments have been enriched by numerous donations.

The Treasurer will have pleasure in submitting his report on the state of the funds of the Society, which, it will be at once perceived, are in a satisfactory state.

The rooms which you now occupy are, no doubt, in

many respects convenient and commodious; and the relations of the Society with its landlord, the Morrin College, are of the most friendly and agreeable character; but the want of space for the additions which are made, from time to time, to the Library and Museum, is very evident; and has suggested the idea that a site, or city lot, might be acquired, upon which, at no distant day, a building, in all respects suitable and adapted to the wants of the Society, may be erected. The Council would therefore respectfully recommend that some action should be taken towards attaining that object, by affording an opportunity to members, or others, who feel interested in their undertaking, of contributing or making bequests to, what may be designated, "a Building Fund."

In conclusion, the Council beg leave to inform the Members of the Society that the printing of the new series of "The Transactions" is now far advanced, and that copies of the same will shortly be ready for distribution. They also propose to edit a selection of unpublished manuscripts and historical documents relating to the war of 1812, which will be issued before the next annual general meeting of the Society.

JAMES STEVENSON,
President.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1876.

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In rendering an account of his department for the past year, the Librarian would, in the first place, remark the continued appreciation of the Library by the members, as shewn by the large number of issues during the year, viz.: 6,470. This, which is more than double the circulation of any previous year, not only indicates a growing taste for edifying reading, but also shews that on the whole, the additions made to the library, lately, have been approved by the members. As in this institution, contrary to the custom of most other libraries, the Librarian has no special authority as such to select purchases; this remark may be made without risking any imputation of self-laudation. As a library of reference, the works on the shelves have been increasingly used, and as the books are not confined in cases or behind a counter as in most large libraries, many books are consulted and at once returned to the shelves, to the convenience of the members, and thus avoiding many entries in the issue book.

The additions by purchase during the past year have been 201 vols., which may be classed as follows: History, 32; Biography, 30; Poetry, 11; Modern Literature and Science, 62; Classical Translations, 18; *Quebec Gazette*, 16; and bound periodicals, 32. The file of the *Quebec Gazette*

is yet incomplete, but it is hoped that the applications by advertisement and otherwise, for the volumes still required, may meet the eye of persons possessing them, and who may be induced to donate or sell to the Society.

The donations during the past year number 193. The donors have been J. J. Foote, to whom we are indebted for 21 volumes of the *Morning Chronicle*, Jas. Stevenson, J. M. LeMoine, H. S. Scott, R. H. Smith, L. P. Turcotte, G. Baldwin, Esqs., Prof. Jas. Douglas, the Governments of Quebec and Ontario, and many learned Societies of Great Britain and the United States of America. The need of sufficient room for the steadily increasing library is being felt, but by careful utilizing of the shelves at our disposal, we can manage for the present, but not very far in the future additional space must be found. The very efficient and able manner in which Mr. Macdonald performs his duties as Acting Librarian cannot be unobserved by the members of the Society, and is deserving of all praise. A new recommendation book has been placed on the table, and it is hoped that members of the Society will freely avail themselves of its columns for their own advantage, and thus afford the Council at the same time the benefit of their suggestions. The Librarian cannot close without remarking on the importance and value of a good library as an educator of the highest rank, silent in its operations, but most potent and durable in its effects, and trusts that the Society will in the future devote an increasing share of its funds in keeping up its efficiency and attractiveness by frequent additions of the standard works of current literature.

RODERICK McLEOD,
Librarian.

Donations to the Library

FOR THE
YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1876.

Catalogues of Exhibits—Centennial Exhibition. From Professor J. Douglas.

Catalogues and other books relating to Exhibits—Centennial Exhibition. From Hon. P. Garneau.

Financial Statement of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, P. Q.

The Gospel of St. Matthew in the Mic-Mac Language.

Sessional Papers 2-3, 1875, 1-2-3-4, 1876.

Statutes of Canada, Vols. I.-II., 1876.

Journals of the House of Commons, Canada, vol. 10, 1876.

Journals of the Senate, Canada, Vol. 10, 1876.

Statuts de Québec, 39 Victoria, 1875.

Biographies—Sir G. E. Cartier; Hist. de L'Isle D'Orléans, by the author, L. P. Turcotte.

Third Supplement to the Alphabetical Catalogue of the Library of the Legislature, Province of Quebec.

Annuaire de L'Université Laval, 1876-77.

Mélanges D'Histoire et de Littérature.

Palæontology of the Province of Ontario.

Biographical sketch of Major-General Richard Montgomery, of the Continental Army.

Annuaire de L'Institut Canadien de Québec, 1876, No. 3.

Major-General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign, in the summer of 1777. By Gen. J. Watts de Peyster.

The Life of Count Rumford, presented by G. R. Baldwin, Esq., Quebec.

Quebec Past and Present. J. M. LeMoine, Advocate.

Dictionnaire et Grammaire de la Langue des Cris.

Report of the General Elections, 1875.

Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec, 1873-74, and part of 1875.

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, May, 1875 to May, 1876.

Transactions of the Academy of Science, St. Louis, vol. 3.

Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 3.

Cudmore's Constitutional History of the United States of America.

Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries, 1875.

Geological Survey of Canada. Report of Progress, 1874-75.

Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1875-76.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova-Scotian Institute of Natural Science, Halifax.

Royal Colonial Institute, Report of Proceedings, 1875-76.

Journal of the Royal United Society of Edinburgh, 1874-75.

Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Nat. Science, Vol. I., 1867 to 1876.

Proceedings of the Historical Society of Mass., 1875-76.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. 18.

Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid, 1876.

Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Province of Quebec.

Public Libraries of the United States. Their History.

Biographical sketch of Wm. Penn, Historical Society, Penn.

Heckewelder's Indian Nations, Hist. Society, Penn.

Hist. of the St. Albans' Raid. Annual Address, Vermont Historical Society.

Early Maps of Ohio and the West. C. C. Baldwin, Esq., Cleveland, Ohio.

87th Regent's Report of the University of the State of New York.

New York State Museum of Nat. History.

Boundaries of the State of New York, from the State Library, Albany, New York.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, October 21st, 1875.

21 Vols. *Morning Chronicle* of Quebec, 1847 to 1866. Donation from the Editor, J. J. Foote, Esq.

Buffalo Historical Society, Certificate of Incorporation, &c.

Several Pamphlets from the Smithsonian Institution.

Report of the City Engineer of Quebec on the proposed improvements of the River St. Charles.

Annuaire de Ville-Marie—Origine, Utilité et Progrès des Institutions Catholiques de Montréal.

Conférences de Notre-Dame de Québec—par l'Abbé Jean Holmes.

Invasion du Canada et Siège de Québec en 1775-6, par L. P. Turcotte.

Free Trade and the European Treaties of Commerce from the Cobden Club.

Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 20th June, 1875.

Annuaire de Ville-Marie, supplément à l'édition de 1864.

Catalogue of Authors, McGill College Library.

Canada as a Military Power—from the author.

Census of Canada, 1870-1, 4 vols., from the Minister of Agriculture.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 25th.

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vols. 1-11.

Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, Vol. 4, 1843.

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution.

Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. 4.

Report of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England on St. John Baptist's day, 1875.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

—o—

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM,

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1876.

—o—

There are but few additions to the ornithological department by purchase for the year just expired. A list of the donations is herewith subjoined.

Though the present Museum is comparatively recent in creation, it having succeeded to the two collections in past years destroyed by fire, it has now attained dimensions such as to require a new *locale* whenever the larger specimens of our Fauna—such as elk, deer, bears, wolves—are acquired. It may be comprised under the following heads:—

- 1st. The Birds of Canada and a few foreign species.
- 2nd. An extensive collection of birds' eggs—Canadian.
- 3rd. The smaller Animals of Canada.
- 4th. A valuable selection of Canadian and United States medals.
- 5th. The Fishes in the Canadian waters. (This department is very incomplete.)
- 6th. A collection of Indian trophies, dresses, utensils, arms, &c.
- 7th. A collection of the Woods of Canada and some foreign Woods.
- 8th. A collection of Minerals, Ores, &c.
- 9th. A collection of archæological and other relics.

Each branch will soon require a separate room. I may add that the want of space has been the main obstacle this year to the acquisition of new specimens. The Museum has attained such dimensions that, in my opinion, the time is come when its contents ought to be carefully catalogued and a list published with our annual Transactions.

In order not to be taken unawares, as has once occurred, the Curator respectfully recommends that a certain sum be set aside each year, as it has been done for some time, so that the taxidermist of the Society may be enabled to purchase, for the purpose of exchanges with other institutions having a museum, some of the most common Canadian birds, shot round Quebec, which he will make up in skins and lay aside. It will yet be in the recollection of many members that, in 1867, an eminent French naturalist, connected with some of the Public Museums of France, actually sent to our rooms a large collection of European birds in skins, to exchange with us for Canadian specimens. Unfortunately we were not then prepared as we are now, and the two-thirds of this invaluable collection had to go to Montreal and New York to be exchanged, our Society retaining but a limited number. Several dozen of such duplicates, costing us from fifty cents to one dollar, according to size, are now available for purposes of exchange.

Several rare medals, commemorative of Canadian and American events — through the agency of an associate member, C. Tessier, Esq., of numismatic tastes—have been acquired for us, this autumn, at the sales in New York of an amateur's cabinet of medals; so that, between purchases and gifts, our numismata are beginning to make a fair display.

Our Society, by the purchase of an exquisitely illustrated and elaborately compiled work, "THE BIRDS OF NORTH AMERICA," at the price of \$60, and by subscribing to several

publications connected with natural history, has shown the deep interest its members attach to a pursuit in itself so beautiful and so ennobling in its aim as the study of nature.

Each day brings practical proof of the usefulness of our natural history collection. Not only does it attract the attention of many travellers of note, anxious to know something about our Fauna, but it has become a place of resort—a species of consulting library, where every Quebec school-boy, budding sportsman or naturalist resorts to, in order to identify a bird, a fish, an animal, an insect captured in his daily rambles.

Respectfully submitted.

J. M. LEMOINE,
Curator.

Literary and Historical Society
OF QUEBEC.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM
FOR THE
YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1876.

- Rev. H. D. Powis:—Two specimens of Herpetology.
Prof. A. N. Macquarrie:—Copper Coin of 1781.
H. N. Jones, Esq.:—Copy of the "Times," 1805.
Prof. J. Douglas:—Massachusetts Spy, (newspaper), 1776.
A. Wheeler, Esq.:—Specimen of Ichthyology.
R. S. M. Bouchette, Advocate:—Twenty specimens or *fac
similes* of Confederate paper currency in circulation in
the early part of the late war, United States.
W. A. Holwell, Esq.:—Fruit of the Monkey Tamarind.
" " " :—Section of Lace-bark-tree.
" " " :—Two pieces of Chewstick, Powder of
Chewstick, (in bottle.)
" " " :—Basket and Strainer made from the
Wild Cucumber ; Circassian,
Beans; Job's Tears.
" " " :—Also a descriptive Catalogue of the
exhibits sent from the Island of
Jamaica, to the Centennial Ex-
hibition, 1876.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1876.

DR.

Jan. 1, 1876.

To	Balance on hand.....	\$ 419 44
"	Government grant.....	750 00
"	Interest on deposit in Savings' Bank.....	31 00
"	Sale of transactions, &c.....	3 00
"	Subscription from Members.....	1111 25
		<hr/>
		\$2314 69

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1876.

By	paid Rent.....	\$ 200 00
"	" Salaries.....	264 29
"	" Books, periodicals, printing and adver- tising.....	606 52
"	" Gas and fuel.....	212 06
"	" Museum.....	5 95
"	Commission on collection.....	85 51
"	Insurance.....	58 10
"	Incidental expenses.....	110 00
"	Centennial Celebration.....	107 55
		<hr/>
		\$1649 98

Jan. 1, 1877.

By	Balance Historical Document Fund.....	\$155 17
"	Life Members' Fund.....	54 75
"	General Fund.....	454 79
		<hr/>
		664 71
		<hr/>
		\$2,314 69

WM. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

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<i>Council Secretary</i> . . .	ALEX. ROBERTSON, Advocate
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<i>Curator of Apparatus</i> ..	F. C. WURTELE.
<i>Additional Members of Council.</i>	{ REV. H. D. POWIS, J. WHITEHEAD, J. F. BELLEAU. COMMANDER ASHE, R.N., F.R.S., Ex-President.

Literary and Historical Society
OF QUEBEC.

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WM. KIRBY, Esq., author of "Le Chien d'Or."
JOHN READE, Esq., author of "The Prophecy of Merlin,"
and other poems.

Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

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polite, le comte, Chan-
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Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC.

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Withall, W.

Wright, Rev. P.
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Wurtele, F. C.
Wurtele, W. G.
Wurtele, C. F.

Young, J. R.
Young, R. St. B.

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GEO. COLLEY.
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R. MITCHELL.
C. W. MONTIZAMBERT.
JAS. A. SEWELL, M.D.
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QUEBEC IMPROVEMENTS.

The Fortress City of America.

QUEBEC AS IT WAS AND AS IT WILL BE.

LORD DUFFERIN'S PLANS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ITS HISTORIC MONUMENTS.

EMBELLISHMENT OF THE ANCIENT CITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF ITS NATURAL ADVANTAGES.

REVIVAL OF THE HISTORIC CASTLE OF ST. LOUIS.

QUEBEC TO BE THE SUMMER RESIDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

" Many a vanished year and age,
And tempest's breath and battle's rage,
Have swept o'er Corinth; yet she stands
A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.
The whirlwind's wrath, the earthquake's shock;
Have left untouched her hoary rock,
The key-stone of a land."—

The Siege of Corinth.—LORD BYRON.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader how pertinently and forcibly these memorable lines apply to the world-renowned fortress of America. In natural situation and varied history, there are so many strong points of resemblance between the ancient city of Quebec and the Corinth which Lord Byron has immortalized in his mellifluous and undying verse, that they must be our excuse for quoting the noble bard on the present occasion. This

occasion is specially one, when, as a journal having at heart the advancement of the grand old place, the preservation of its peculiar character of interest to the world at large, and the enhancement of that veneration in which it is held all over the civilized globe, we deem it our duty to make generally public the enlightened measures of improvement and embellishment, coming from the very highest and most influential quarter in the country, of which Quebec may, in the poet's language, not be inaptly termed "the keystone," and which, when carried out, will not only preserve to the Gibraltar of America its historic landmarks, its interesting associations and traditions, and its exceptional character of quaintness and antiquity, but subserve the realization of those more modern ideas of progress, which fail to see that it is much easier to tear down than to build up. For this commendable purpose, we have taken the trouble, at considerable expense, to present, to the friends of the MORNING CHRONICLE on this Christmas morning, correct illustrations of the embellishments and improvements proposed and contemplated by His Excellency, the present able and distinguished Governor General of Canada, for the idea of which the citizens of Quebec in particular, and the civilized world in general, cannot be too thankful to the noble lord, as well as for the hearty interest which he has ever taken in the ancient capital of New France, and all that concerns the welfare and prosperity of its people. To our kindred race in the neighboring republic, one in blood, as they are one in desire with us for the religious preservation of our historic monuments, we may specially commend the present subject; and, in order that they may acquire a proper understanding of it, we quote from our columns, in the issue of the Quebec MORNING CHRONICLE, of the 22nd November last:

"If the scheme of city improvement and embellishment submitted by his Excellency the Governor-General, for the consideration of the City Council, and briefly outlined in our issue of Saturday, may be said to have taken the citizens somewhat by surprise, we believe we are correct in interpreting the popular feeling on the subject, when we state that the inhabitants of the ancient capital are, and will ever be deeply grateful to Lord Dufferin for the deep and continuous interest which he takes in Quebec, the flattering

preference he shows for it on all occasions, and the present signal manifestation of his good will and desire to promote its importance by the enhancement of its historic and scenic attractions, without very materially adding to the burthens of its tax-paying population. It surely must be a subject of general pride and congratulation to find such distinguished and influential patronage extended to our good old city, and to look forward to the prospect of future advantage which support in such a quarter is certain to open up for it. There is no denying that if the scheme proposed by His Excellency be carried out in its entirety, in connection with other improvements actually in contemplation, Quebec will not only have its modern requirements more than satisfied, but will become the show city of this continent, to which thousand of strangers will annually flock to view a grandeur of scenery unsurpassed on this side of the Atlantic, conjointly with the relics of an eventful and heroic past for which the outside world has a special veneration. Familiarity, it has been truly said, breeds contempt, and this self-same familiarity with our crumbling fortifications has engendered among ourselves an underestimate of the value attached by strangers to them, and to the other mementoes of by-gone days, which abound in our midst. Not altogether improperly, outsiders regard Quebec as common property, a bit of the old world transferred to the new, tucked away carefully in this remote corner of the continent, and to be religiously preserved from all inonoclastic desecration, especially from that phase of the latter, which goes by the name of modern improvement with some, but passes for wanton vandalism with others. They wish to have to say still of Quebec at the present day, as Longfellow sang of Nuremberg, that it is a—

"Quaint old town of toil and traffic,
Quaint old town of art and song,
Memories haunt thy pointed gables,
Like the rocks that round them throng."

In addition to being the oldest city in North America, Quebec, historically speaking, is also the most interesting. The traditions and associations, which cling to its beetling crags and hoary battlements, and cluster around it battlefields, monuments and institutions, are numerous and important in the eyes of the world. History speaks from

every stone of its ruined walls, and from every standpoint of its surroundings; antiquity is stamped upon its face, and quaintness is its chief characteristic. In the computation of our yearly income, the revenue we derive from these attractions, coupled with those supplied by the magnificent panorama of Nature with which the city is encircled, forms no inconsiderable item. We imagine it will not be denied by any rational person that the stream of travel which tends this way with the return of each fine season, as surely as that season itself, is an immense advantage to the totality of the inhabitants, for it is a well recognized truth that where any special class, trade or calling in a community is benefitted, the whole are benefitted by the increase of the circulating medium. It is therefore a self evident duty on our part to do all we reasonably can to preserve to Quebec its character of interest and antiquity, which is much prized by the rest of the world, and is so valuable in a material point of view to ourselves. We should also, if possible, exert ourselves in the same direction to so enhance, by artificial means, the splendid scenic advantages we offer to admiring sight-seers, that like the Neapolitans, when they speak of Naples to the European traveller, we may tell the American to see Quebec and die. At the same time such modern improvements as can be effected without serious detriment to our historical monuments, such as our gates and ramparts, should not be neglected, to advance the growth and embellishment of the city and to facilitate communication between its older and newer parts. This is just what Lord Dufferin's plans and views with regard to Quebec propose to do. We have been favored with a sight of the admirably executed plans and designs, prepared by Mr. Lynn, the eminent civil engineer commissioned by Lord Dufferin to carry out his intentions, and who, it will be remembered, accompanied His Lordship and the Minister of Militia last summer on their examination of the military works and grounds. It will also be recalled that it was with considerable reluctance that His Excellency consented at all to the removal of the old gates and the cutting through of the walls on the western side of the fortress, and that it was only his well-known consideration for the wishes and requirements of the people of Quebec that induced him to concur in the demand for increased facility of communication between the city and

its suburbs. According to Mr. Lynn's plans, it is easy to see that His Excellency still adheres to his original ideas in the matter, to some extent, while desiring at the same time to meet the popular wish and necessity. It is proposed that all the gates, with the exception of Hope Gate, or rather the present apertures, are to be bridged or arched

St. John's Gate.

over, in viaduct fashion, with handsome bridges either in iron or stone, so as to preserve the continuity of the fortifications. In this way, the openings in the ramparts, including that for the extension of Nouvelle street, will remain as free to traffic as they are at present. St. John's Gate is,

of course, included with the others in this category. All the bridges or arches over the gates will be flanked with picturesque Norman turrets, of different size and design, such as are frequently seen in old French and German castles. Hope Gate, it is contemplated simply to flank with such turrets, some twelve more of which will also at different other points adorn and relieve the monotonous effect of the long dead line of wall from Palace Gate to the Parliament Buildings. His Excellency next proposes a bou-

Hope Hill.

levard or continuous drive around the entire fortifications, commencing at the Durham Terrace, which he wishes to have prolonged westwards to the King's Bastion, and thus make it one of the most magnificent promenades in the world, with an unequalled view of river, mountain, crag and island scenery, and taking in both the upper and lower portions of the harbour. Thence the boulevard will continue, rising by an easy incline to the foot of the Citadel, and thence will run along the crest of the cliff at the foot of the walls round to the rough ground or Cove field, through

which it will be carried, following the line of the fortifications, crossing St. Louis street and entering the Glacis on the north side of that thoroughfare; the square of which comprised between St. Louis street, St. Eustache street, the extension of Nouvelle street and the walls, His Excellency wishes to have formed into a park or ornamental pleasure

St. Louis Gate.

ground, communicating with the Esplanade by means of a sally-port through the rampart. Through this park, the boulevard will be continued down across St. John street and around through the gardens and grounds of the Artillery Barracks, to Palace Gate, crossing in its passage three other openings in the fortification wall to give direct communication with the city to D'Aiguillon, Richelieu and

St. Olivier streets, such openings being bridged over the same fashion as the others. From Palace Gate the boulevard will follow the present line of Rampart street round to the Parliament Buildings, in rear of which it will pass, and then traverse Mountain Hill over a handsome iron bridge flanked with turrets, on the side of old Prescott Gate, to Fortification Lane, in rear of the Post Office, which will be enlarged and graded up, back again to the Durham Terrace or original point of departure, thus making a con-

Artillery Store—Palace Gate.

tinuous, unbroken circuit of the entire fortifications, and providing a public promenade that will undoubtedly be unsurpassed by anything of the sort in the world, and cannot fail to attract thousands of profitable visitors to Quebec. The cost of the undertaking would not be so enormous, as might appear at first sight. It is estimated that His Excellency's capital idea in this respect could be carried out at an outlay of ninety thousand dollars, of which the city would only be asked to contribute thirty thousand, the

Federal authorities making up the difference. But His Excellency does not seem satisfied to stop short even at this work of embellishment in his desire to promote the interest of our good old city. He wishes that it should become also

Mountain Hill.—Iron Bridge.

the abode of the representative of royalty in Canada, at least during the summer season, and, in order that it should enjoy to the fullest all the importance and material benefit likely to flow from this circumstance, he further proposes to have a regular and fitting vice regal residence erected for

stand forth in bold relief to the East of the present officers' quarters, with a frontage of 200 feet and a depth partly of 60 and partly of 100 feet, with a basement, two main storeys and attics, and two towers of different heights, but of equally charming design. The style of architecture is an agreeable "melange" of the picturesque Norman and Elizabethan. The intention is, we believe, to have the quoins and angle stones of cut stone and the filling in of rough ashlar—the old stone from the fortifications being utilized for that purpose. The estimated cost of the structure is \$100,000; but we have not heard whether the city will be asked to contribute to it. We are inclined, however, to think not, as it would be solely a Dominion work, for Dominion purposes, and erected upon Dominion property. Such, as far as we understand it, from the plans, is Lord Dufferin's very excellent and praiseworthy project for the improvement and embellishment of Quebec, and we are satisfied that as His Lordship appears to have made up his mind in its favor, it will not fail to be carried out in due time. As to when it will be commenced, of course, we are not in a position to speak; but when it does, the expenditure of money it will entail and the employment it will give to the labouring classes and tradesmen generally, apart from any other of the favourable considerations we have pointed out, will be very opportune and acceptable to the people of the ancient capital. In bringing the matter forward so prominently, Lord Dufferin has done a great thing for Quebec, for which its inhabitants cannot thank him too warmly. It only remains for the city to meet his generous proposition in a like spirit of liberality, and it will go hard with old Stadacona if, between the North Shore Railway, the graving dock, the tidal docks, the harbor improvements of all kinds, and the proposed new buildings for the Legislature, public departments and the law courts, the condition of its people be not before long materially bettered and the appearance of things considerably improved. We should, perhaps, add that in the general scheme of Corporation improvements, in addition to those mentioned in our report of the City Council in Saturday's issue, are included the project of a stairs, leading directly from St. George Street, on the ramparts, to Sault-au-Matelot street, in the vicinity of the Quebec Bank, which would obviate the present tedious detour for foot passengers by Mountain Hill; of a

street parallel to St. Paul street, and of an elevator for vehicles and foot passengers from the Champlain Market up the Cliff and underneath Durham Terrace to the North end of the Laval Normal School."

For the information of outsiders, we may add that since the above was written, the City Council of Quebec has not only responded nobly to His Excellency's suggestions, but the Local Government has gone a step further and made provision, as far as comes within its purview, to co-operate in carrying out of Lord Dufferin's admirable designs.

It is scarcely necessary on this occasion, to recall the eventful history of Quebec, but, as the present year brings about a memorable anniversary, interesting alike to ourselves and to our republican neighbours, it may be well to allude to it. We refer to the centennial of the death, at the very portals of this fortress, of a gallant foe, the American General Montgomery. It is not our desire by any means to rekindle the rancors and strifes of that distant period; and, to prove this, on the 31st of December instant, exactly one hundred years since Arnold and Montgomery were thundering at our gates, and the latter was shedding his life-blood amid the snows at Près-de-Ville, the military authorities—descendants of the men who so bravely withstood the attack—and the citizens of Quebec generally, intend to commemorate in becoming manner the important event. There, commingling together in perfect harmony, will be found the representatives of the two great mother nations, who contended so long and so bitterly for sovereignty in the New World, as well as of that young, but vigorous offshot of Great Britain, which is now personified in, the United States. Beneath the folds of the flag of England, all these will join to do honor to the memory of a brave man, who, although a foe, was not the less an estimable gentleman and a gallant soldier. On such an occasion, it is needless to point out the additional interest with which Quebec will be invested. It would be superfluous also to more than briefly advert to the main facts in the history of the oldest city of America, from the days when Jacques Cartier first discovered the country, and Champlain planted the cross of Christianity on the banks of the mighty St. Lawrence, down through the eventful years, when the

young and struggling colony had to battle for dear life with the savage Iroquois, when the power of France was launched forth from its battlements to harass the New England colonies, or to hurl defiance at Britain's attempts at conquest from the mouths of Frontenac's cannon, down to the days when Wolfe and Montcalm struggled for the mastery, with so fatal an ending for both these illustrious men and one so disastrous to France's tenure of power on this side of the Atlantic—down, we may add, to our own less troublous and remarkable times.

The limits of our present space will not permit our entering into such details just now; but we may simply remind the reader that, from a military point of view, Quebec has been ever regarded as occupying the strongest natural position, next to Gibraltar, in the entire world. Hence the continued and sanguinary struggle for its possession between two of the greatest nations of the old world, and, later on, between Great Britain and the States of the American Union. It has in its day successfully and unsuccessfully withstood many sieges, now at the hands of the savage aborigines of the country, and now at those of their more civilized brethren. From its foundation down to a century ago, its history has been mainly characterized by warfare and bloodshed, stirring events of flood, and field, and military glories, which are alike claimed by the descendants of two great races, who form its present population. Turning from this aspect of the ancient city, it must also be remembered that for two centuries it was the city whence France exercised an astonishing sovereignty over a gigantic territory extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes, and down the Mississippi to its outlet below New Orleans; and, whence, in the assertion of the supremacy of the Gallic lily, the missionary pioneered the path of the soldier, in those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the early Governors of New France. In fine, as we have already stated, history speaks from every stone of its frowning battlements, from every tortuous winding of its antiquated streets, from the number and age of its institutions of religion, charity and education, from its quaint buildings, and generally from the many monuments and relics of an

eventful past, which crowd each other within its hoary walls. All these it is the commendable desire of Lord Dufferin not only to carefully preserve, but to improve as far as possible, without obstructing the growth and advanced ideas of modern Quebec, as will be more readily gathered from the illustrations of his designs which we present to our readers this morning, hoping with all our heart to see them carried out at an early date, so that we may still further strengthen the claim of the interesting and venerable city of Champlain to its present device—*Natura fortis, industria crescit.*

—————:O:—————

THE OLD FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC.

BY J. M. LEMOINE, AUTHOR OF "MAPLE LEAVES"

One is safe in dating back to the founder of the city, Champlain, the first fortifications of Quebec. The Chevalier de Montmagny, his successor, added to them, and sturdy old Count de Frontenac, improved them much, between 1690 and 1694. Under French rule, Le Vasseur, de Calliere, de Lery, Le Mercier, Pontleroy, either carried out their own views as to outworks or else executed the plans devised by the illustrious strategist Vauban.

The historian Charlevoix thus describes, in 1720, what the fortifications were in 1711:

" Quebec is not regularly fortified, though, for a long time past, efforts have been made to turn it into a strong place. The town, even with its present defences, cannot easily be taken. The port is provided with two bastions, which in the high tides are nearly flush with the water: that is about twenty-five feet above low water mark. During the Equinox, the tide reaches to this height. A little above the bastion, to the right, a half-bastion has been constructed, which runs into the rock, and higher up, next to the Gallery of the Port, there are twenty-five pieces of cannon, forming a battery. A small square fort, which goes under the name of the Citadel, is higher up, and the paths from one fortification to the other are very steep. On the left side of the port, along the shore, until the River St. Charles, there are good batteries of guns and a few mortars.

From the angle of the Citadel, facing the city, an oreillon of a bastion has been constructed, from which a curtain extends at right angles, which communicates with a very elevated cavalier, on which stands a fortified wind-mill. As you descend from this cavalier, and at the

distance of a musket shot from it, you meet first a tower flanked with a bastion, and at the same distance from it, a second. The design was to line all this with stone, which was to have had the same angles with the bastions, and to have terminated at the extremity of the rock, opposite to the Palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as well as one on Cape Diamond. Such was the state of the fortifications at Quebec in 1711. Such they are this year (1720), as may be seen by the plan in relieve that Mr. Chaussegros de Léry, Chief Engineer, sends this year home (to France), to be deposited with other plans in the Louvre. In fact, the King had been so pleased with this plan, that he sent out instructions, and the works were begun in June, 1720.

The fortifications commenced at the Palace, on the shore of the Little River St. Charles, and ended towards the Upper Town (the city walls then must have extended a little this side of St. Ursule Street), which they encircled and terminated at the heights, towards Cape Diamond. From the (Intendant's) Palace, along the beach, a palisade had been erected, up to the Seminary fence (in Sault-au-Matelot quarter), where it closed in at the inaccessible rocks called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, where there was a three gun battery. There was also above this, a second palisade, terminating at the same point. The entrances to the city, where there were no gates, were protected by beams across and hogheads filled with earth, instead of gabions, crowned by small field pieces. The circuitous path from the Lower to the Upper Town, was intercepted by three different intrenchments of hogheads and bags of earth, with a species of *chevaux de frise*. In the course of the siege, a second battery was constructed at the Sault-au-Matelot, and a third at the gate (Palace Gate,) which leads to the St. Charles. Finally, some small pieces of ordinance had been mounted about the Upper Town, and specially on a declivity, where a wind-mill had been erected as a cavalier—(on Mount Carmel, in rear of the old Military Hospital.)

The city had but three gates under French dominion: St. Louis, St. Jean* and Palace. General James Murray records in his diary of the Siege, the care with which on the 5th May, 1760, he had Palace gate closed, "Palais gate was shut up all but the wicket."

Traces of the old French works are still plainly visible near the Martello Tower, in a line with Péreault's Hill, north of them. Under English rule, it will thus appear that the outer walls were much reduced.

* "Cette même année (1694), on fit une redoubte au Cap au Diamand, un fort au Chateau, et les deux portes Saint Louis et Saint Jean...La même année (1702) on commença les fortifications de Québec, sur les plans du Sieur Levasseur, qui eut quelque discussion avec M. Le Marquis de Crisasy, qui, pour lors commandait à la place."

(Relation de 1682-1712, publiée par la Société Littéraire et Historique.)

PRESCOTT GATE, DEMOLISHED, AUGUST, 1871.

General Robert Prescott, had the lower town gate which bears his name, erected about 1797, and the outer adjoining masonry.

Judging from an inscription on the wall to the west of the gate, additions and repairs seem to have been made here in 1815.

A handsome chain gate intercepting the road to the citadel, was erected under the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1827— also the citadel gate which is known as Dalhousie Gate. On the summit of the citadel, is erected the Flag Staff, wherefrom streams the British Flag, in longitude 71° 12' 44" west of Greenwich, according to Admiral Bayfield; 71° 12' 15" 5. o. according to Commander Ashe. It was by means of the halyard of this Flag staff, that General Theller and Colonel Dodge in October, 1838, made their escape from the citadel, where these Yankee sympathisers were kept prisoners. They had previously set to sleep the sentry, by means of drugged porter, when letting themselves down with the flagstaff rope, they escaped out of the city despite all the precautions of the Commandant Sir James MacDonnell, a Waterloo veteran.

HOPE GATE.

The following inscription on Hope Gate describes when it was erected:

HOPE GATE
HENRICO HOPE
Copiarum Duce et provincie sub prefecto
Protegente et adjuvante
Extracta,
Georgio III, Regi nostro,
Anno XXVI et salutis, 1786.

The martello Towers, named from their inventor in England, Col. Martello, date from 1805. They were built under Col. (General) Brock, and their erection, superintended by Lt. By,* afterwards the well known Lt. Col. By, the builder of the Rideau Canal in 1832, and founder of Bytown (now Ottawa.)

* Lieutenant By during the period, 1805-10 had two Superior Officers at Quebec—Colonel Gother Mann, who was succeeded by Lieut -Colonel R. H. Bruyeres.—See Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*

From an entry in the unpublished diary of the late Mr. James Thompson, overseer of Military Public Works at Quebec, in 1786, this inscription would be due to the action of the French Canadian citizens of Quebec, in appreciation of the condescension of General Hope in granting them a city gate at this spot.

"September 9th, 1786. Weather pleasant. The people employed as yesterday. This afternoon the masons finished laying the Facia to the gate. I think it was high time, tho' in fact it could be no sooner reasonably expected, not only from the hands we have got, but from our not having cut stone ready before hand to bring us forward. We have seven hands at it, four of them are artillery men who can hardly be called half bred masons, and one of our three civilians is only a stone layer. Thus, when we have a course of stones cut we lay it and set to cutting another, which makes the work exceedingly tedious. I am persuaded it will take us till some time in November, before we can close the pediment. The French inhabitants, in compliment to the commander in chief have requested to have something inscribed on a stone in this pediment to perpetuate his memory for his readiness in condescending to give the people a Gate in this quarter."

The citadel was substituted to the detached works raised at different times by the French. The imperial Government in 1823, carried on the magnificent but costly system of defensive works, approved of by His Grace the Duke of Wellington.†

† "The fortifications of Quebec" says W. J. Anderson, "are well worthy of special attention. Originating three centuries ago from the necessity of protecting the few inhabitants from the sudden and secret attacks of the Iroquois: from their small beginning in 1535, they eventually attained such vast proportions as to make Quebec be styled the *Gibraltar* of America.

Recently very great changes have been effected, in the first place arising from the great changes in the military art; in the second place from the new policy of the Imperial Government, which has withdrawn every soldier. Prescott and St. Louis gates have been removed during the past autumn (1871) and other still greater changes have been talked of, but this will diminish very little the interest of the Tourist, who unless informed of the fact, would not be aware of the removal of the gates; the remaining fortifications are in themselves a sight not to be seen elsewhere on this continent.

The fortifications now consist of those of the city proper, the *Ancient City*, and of the independent fortalice of the Citadel, which though within the City walls, is complete in itself — The ramparts and bastions form a circuit of the extent of two miles and three quarters, but if the line is drawn without the outworks would be increased to three miles. The Citadel occupies about forty acres. In order to inspect the works to most advantage, the visitor is commended to proceed from his hotel up St. Louis street, and turning up the road between the Gate and the office of Engineers, ascend by its winding. The first thing that will attract his attention on arriving at the outworks, is the *Chain Gate*, passing through which and along the ditch he will observe the casemated *Dalhousie Bastion*, and reaching *Dalhousie Gate* he will find that it is very massive and of considerable depth, as it contains the Guard-rooms. Passing through, a spacious area is entered forming a parade ground. On the right hand, there are detached buildings—amunition stores and armoury—On the south, the bomb proof hospital

Charles Watterton † on his visit to Quebec, in 1824, viewing the magnificent citadel with a prophetic eye, asks whether the quotation from Virgil is not applicable.

Sic vos, non vobis

The stone for this grand undertaking was conveyed from river craft in the St. Lawrence below, by machinery, on an inclined plane of which the remains are still extant.

ST. LOUIS GATE, DEMOLISHED, AUGUST, 1871.

St. Louis gate was originally built in 1694; it underwent considerable changes, until it received in 1823 its present

and officers quarters overlooking the St. Lawrence, and on the Town side, the Bastions with their casemated barracks, commodious, and comfortable, the loop holes intended for the discharge of musketry, from within, serving to admit light and air—from the Bastion to the Flag Staff, the Citadel is separated from the Town by a deep ditch and steep and broad glacis—At the Guard House at *Dalhousie Gate*, a soldier is detached to accompany visitors, who generally carries them along the circuit pointing out the most striking features of the fortress—The view from the Flag Staff is very grand, but it is recommended that the visitor on arriving

† Watterton's Wanderings.

appearance. It might have been, not improperly, called "The Wellington Gate," as it forms part of the plan of defence selected by the Iron Duke.

An old plan of de Lery, the French engineer, in 1751, exhibits there, a straight road, such as the present; there, from 1823 to 1871, existed the labyrinth of turns so curious to strangers and so inconvenient for traffic.

PALACE GATE.

Palace gate was erected under French rule, and Murray, after his defeat, at Ste. Foye, 28th April, 1760, took care to secure it against the victorious Levi. In 1791, it was reported in a ruinous condition and was restored in its present ornate appearance, resembling, it is said, one of the gates of Pompeii, about the time the Duke of Wellington gave us our citadel and walls.

at the western angle overlooking the St. Lawrence, should place himself on the *Princes' Stand* indicated by a stone on which is sculptured the "Prince's Feather," and there feast his eyes on—the wondrous beauties of the scene. Should time permit, the armory is well worthy of inspection. Returning, the visitors, if pedestrians, should ascend the ramparts, 25 feet high, on which will be found a covered way, extending from the Citadel, and passing over St. Louis

The shield is surmounted with a crown. In the centre there are three *fleurs de lis*. The following inscription appears on a tablet, beneath it, in the Town Hall of Hastings:

"This shield was taken off one of the gates of Quebec at the time that a conquest was made of that city by His Majesty's sea and land forces, in the memorable year 1759, under the commands of Admirals Saunders and Holmes and the Generals Wolfe, Monkton, Townsend and Murray, which latter being appointed the first British Governor thereof, made a present of this trophy of war to this corporation (the city or town of Hastings,) whereof he, at that time, was one of the Jurats."

In a topographical description of the town of Hastings, in Sussex, England, inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786, the first allusion is thus made to the Shield:

"The Town Hall, over the market place, is a modern building, erected in 1700. In a frame hung up in it, is a long list of its Mayors, the first of which was sworn as such in the year 1560, before which time a bailiff was the chief magistrate: the list commences in 1500. Near it the Arms of France is fixed, largely carved in wood, and painted in proper colour, with embellishment, and was presented to the corporation by one of the officers (a Jurat of Hastings) who was at the reduction of Quebec, where it was fixed over one of the Gates of the city, all of which is inscribed on a tablet under the arms."

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1792, appears the following letter, dated 20th January:

"The shield was taken from one of the Gates of Quebec, in 1759, and was presented by General Murray to the Corporation of Hastings. As this trophy recalls a feat of arms so illustrious, and equally honorable to the General who presented it, the insertion of this letter in your Magazine, will oblige.

Your humble Servant.

LINCOLNENSIS."

Mr. James Thompson, as overseer of Works, in 1775, was instructed to erect palisades at the avenues, which led into the city, where Prescott Gate was since erected; the object of these defences being to keep out Colonel Benedict

Gate was built in 1786; all the approaches are strongly protected, and from its position on the rugged lofty cliff, it is very strong. At Hope Gate, the ground which had gradually sloped from the Citadel begins to ascend again, and the wall is continued from it, to the turning point at *Sault-au-Matliot*, between which and the Parliament House, is the *Grand Battery* of twenty-four 32 pounders and four mortars. This Battery is two hundred feet above the St. Lawrence, and from its platform, as well as from the site of the Parliament House, another magnificent prospect is obtained. Immediately under the Parliament House, which is built on the commanding site of the ancient *Bishop's Palace*, was, the last year, *Prescott Gate*, protected on either side by powerful outworks. This gate was built in 1797, while General Prescott was in command, and like St. Louis Gate was removed, for the accommodation of the public. From Prescott Gate the wall extends to *Durham Terrace*, the rampart or foundation wall of which, was the foundation of the Castle of St. Louis. This famed building, founded by Champlain in 1623, has continued to be the residence of all the future Governors of Canada."

Arnold, Brig.-General Richard Montgomery, and all other marauders.

Palace Gate, though a pet gate for strangers, is doomed, we fear, as well as Hope Gate.* It is to be hoped that St. John's Gate will be spared.

"In the course of the demolition of the city gates it was to have been expected that corner stones or inscriptions of historical value would have turned up somewhere, but the search has so far been productive of little result. At Hope Gate this spring, (1874) a stone with a plate and Latin inscription was found, supposed to contain a deposit of coins, &c. This was donated by the contractors to J. M. LeMoine, Esquire, who had it placed in the City Hall for inspection by the authorities, previous to its removal to his museum at Spencer Grange. To-day the contractor Mr. Piton's men in breaking up the heavy old timber doors of Palace Gate, found the following inscription between the inner planks

"These Gates were made in 1831 by William McKeown, Robert Milburn, William Preston, W. Poriston, master carpenter, Wm. Mountain, Superintendent. This thung (the inscription?) by Wm. McKeown, of the "County Armagh, Ireland." (*Quebec Mercury*)

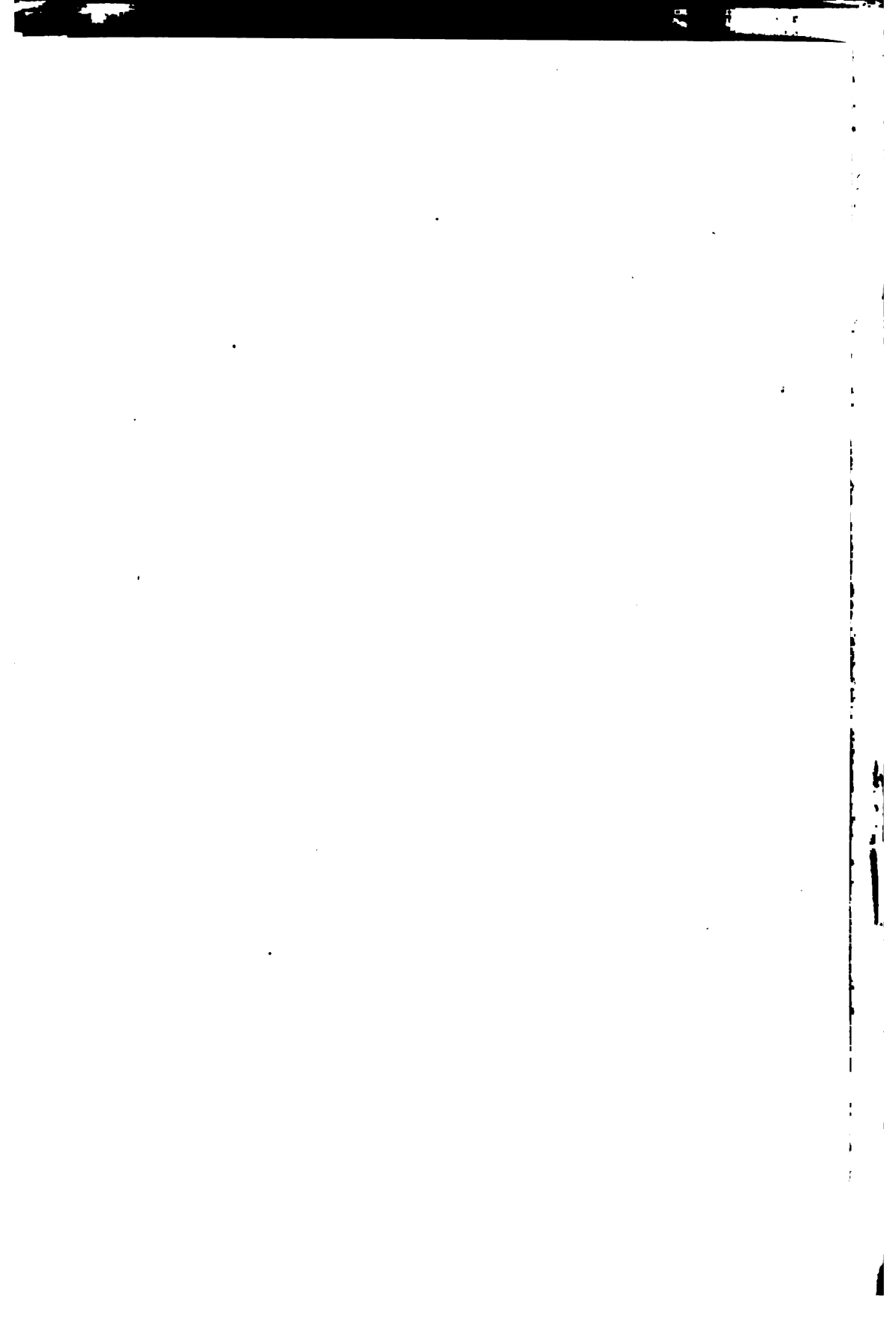
ST. JOHN'S GATE, DEMOLISHED, 1865.

* Both were razed.

In 1694, St. John's Gate was first raised in stone. Doubtless the old gate which escaped until 1865, exhibited in the following view, formed part of the Wellington Fortifications of 1823.—In 1865, it being quite too narrow for the purposes of traffic, it was razed and the present handsome Gate, with four openings, the design of which had been approved of by the English War Office, put up at a cost of \$40,000. All it now requires is a statue of the founder of the city, to crown this structure.

The modern style of warfare has of course rendered it necessary to adapt the defences of cities accordingly. The marvellous Pointe Levi casemates and Forts have restored Quebec, to the proud position it occupied thirty years ago; it is still, notwithstanding its changes, the Gibraltar of North America.

Quebec, 1st August, 1871.





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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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Literary and Historical Society
OF QUEBEC

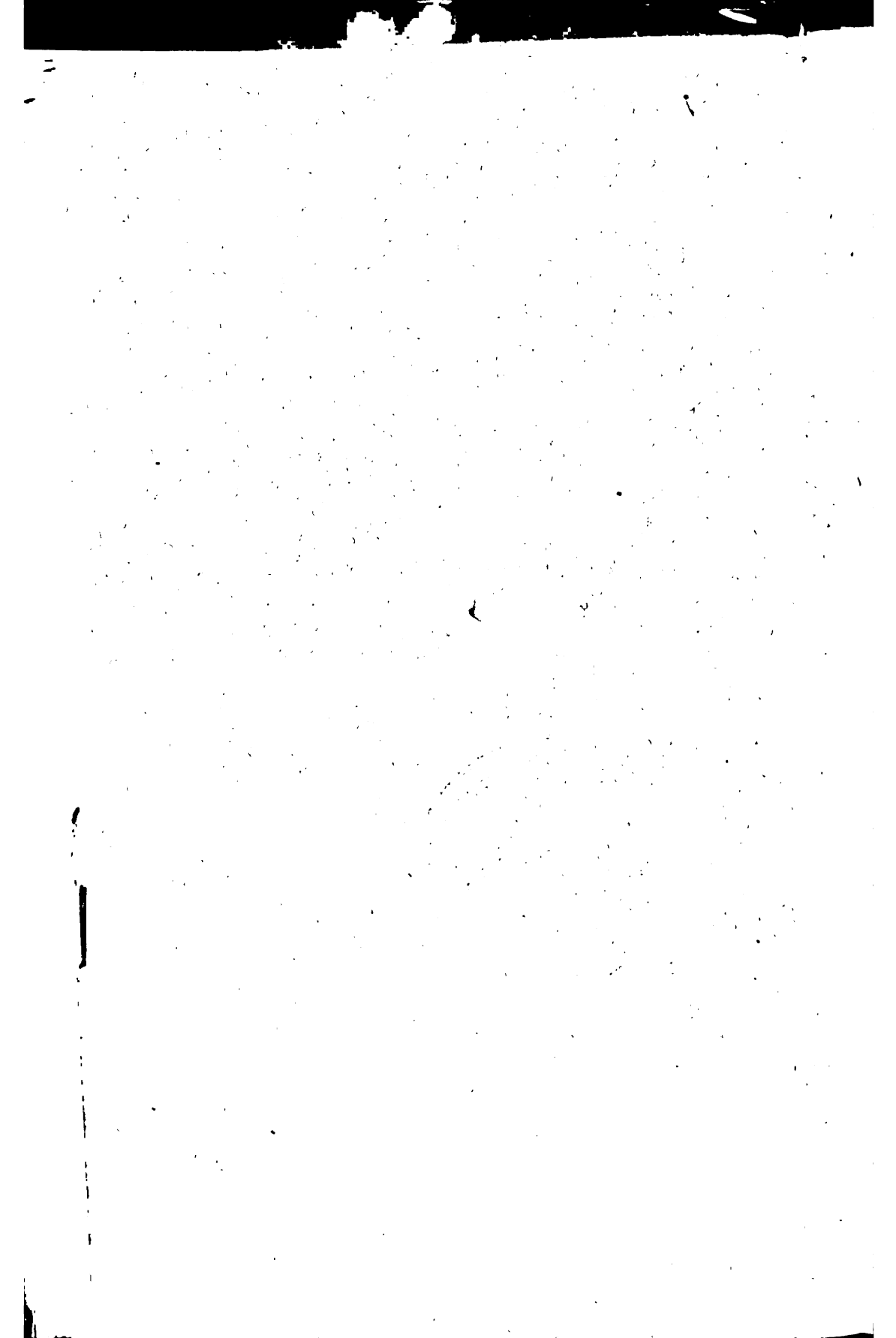
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SESSIONS OF 1877-8-9

QUEBEC:

PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.

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Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

On the other hand, three honorary members—men of distinguished merit—have been unanimously elected, and thirty-six new names have been added to the list of associate members.

The following papers have been read:—

I. On the currency and trade of Canada after the conquest, by James Stevenson, Esq., President.

II. Presidential elections in the United States of America and the manner of conducting them, by Hon. W. C. Howells.

III. Annual address of the President.

IV. On the history of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, by L. P. Turcotte, Esq.

The report of the Librarian will be read with interest, as well as that of the Curator, under whose direction a complete catalogue of the objects in the Museum has been prepared for publication, and will soon be ready for distribution.

The Treasurer will have pleasure in submitting his report on the state of the funds of the Society. A smaller balance than usual appears at its credit, which is accounted for by the expenditures incurred in publishing and in purchasing books of acknowledged merit, and in enlarging the space for the accommodation of the library.

In conformity with the wishes of the Society, Past-President J. M. LeMoine, Esq., and Vice-President Lt.-Colonel Strange, R.A., attended a literary convention at Ottawa, organized under the auspices of L'Institut Canadien of that city, for the purpose, among others, of devising practical means for the preservation and publication of Canadian Archives. At that convention an interesting paper was read by one of our associate members, L. P. Turcotte, Esq., on the Archives of Canada, in which special allusion was

made to the mission of this Society, and to the manner in which it had realized the intentions of its founder. On the return of the delegates a lucid report of the whole proceedings was submitted to a general monthly meeting of members.

Animated by our traditions to do our distinctive work

It would be difficult to overstate the advantage which this Institution offers to a community immersed in business during the short summer, but with a large share of leisure at its disposal for intellectual improvement during the long winter season. While the Society adheres to the main object of its mission, it has not been unmindful of the liberal support which it has received during the whole course of its existence from the mercantile classes of Quebec. In view of this, the library has been furnished with valuable works on Political Economy, Merchant Shipping, International Law, and other costly productions, which few can afford to purchase, but which many feel bound to read.

In the last report the retiring Council recommended that some action should be taken towards acquiring a site upon which, at no distant day, a building in all respects suitable and adapted to the wants of the Society might be erected. This Council, in conformity with their recommendation have made application to the Government of the Province of Quebec for a portion of that piece of ground upon which the old building known as the "Jesuit Barracks" once stood, and they trust that their application will be favorably received.

JAMES STEVENSON,
President.

Quebec, 9th January, 1878.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. R. McLeod, was read.

In surrendering his trust, the librarian has the honor to submit the following annual report:—

The number of volumes issued during the past year was over 5,000, which though not quite equal to the preceding year, indicates a circulation far in excess of some former years.

The attendance of members at the rooms for the consultation of works, or the perusal of serial publications has greatly increased. The additions by purchase and exchange have numbered over 180 volumes. The works added have been mostly of a high standard, in conformity with the fixed views of the Council on the subject of selection.

The donations to the library have been very liberal, numbering over 150 volumes, among other donors we are indebted to His Worship the Mayor, O. Murphy, Esq., the Honble. W. C. Howells, American Consul; Honbles. P. Garneau and P. Fortin, to General Sir John Henry Lefroy and General De Peyster, honorary members of the Society, and to Messrs. Jas. Reid, E. L. Montizambert, J. J. Foote, L. P. Turcotte, H. S. Scott, E. B. Lindsay and others of our city, besides many gentlemen and learned societies at a distance.

Additional space having been provided by the extension of the gallery, there is at present sufficient room for our increasing library, but it is essential that the volumes and shelves should be numbered, in order that books may be readily traced when required. A detailed list of donations during the past year is appended to this report.

R. McLEOD,
Librarian.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR
ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1877.

Major Gen. Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne campaign
in the Summer of 1777. Presented by Gen. Watts De
Peyster.
New Annual Register, 1781.

Annual Register, 1765, 1773, 77, 79, 1783, 87.

Presented by Jas. Reid, Esq.

Belknap papers, 2 volumes.

Presented by the Hist. Society of Mass.

Pamphlets relating to American History.

Presented by Dr. Samuel Green, Boston.

Speeches of Josiah Quincy, Journal of a tour to Niagara Falls, Memoir of Hon. W. Appleton.

Journal of the Proceeding of the U. S. Centennial Commission at Philadelphia.

Third and Fourth Annual Reports of the Board of Health of the City of Boston, 1875, 76.

Report of the Mass. State Commissioner.—Centennial Exhibition, 1876.

The Necrology of Harvard College, 1869, 1872.

Presented by Dr. Samuel A. Green, Boston.

Hist. of St. Paul and Ramsay Co., Minnesota.

Presented by J. Fletcher Williams, Esq.

Russia, Turkey and England, by Richard Cobden, reprinted from the Cobden Club.

Biographical notes concerning Gen. Richard Montgomery with hitherto unpublished letters.

Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture on the products, &c., of Ontario, exhibited at the exhibition (centennial,) —D. C. Mackenzie, Esq.

Pamphlets relating to Rhode Island, from the Historical Society of Rhode Island.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Nat. Hist. vol. 18, Part 4, April, July, 1876.

Canada Year-book, 1869, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76 and 77.

Presented by E. L. Montizambert, Esq.

The Turk in Europe, Freeman, Map of the Seat War.

Presented by H. S. Scott, Esq.

The Bermuda Pocket Almanac.

Bermuda Letters from Mrs. A. Eanies—H. S. Scott, Esq.

Proceedings of Foreign Societies—Per Smithsonian Institute.

**Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Geological Survey of Canada—reports of progress (English
and French.)**

**Sessional Papers of the Parliament of Ontario, Journals and
Appendix.**

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. 8, 1876, 77.

- Tracts of Hist. Socy. Cleveland, 1 to 36. Proceedings of the
Cleveland Academy of Natural Sciences 1845 to 1859.
The Straits of Belleisle—Hon. P. Fortin.
Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Prov.
of Quebec, 1875, 76.
Report of the Canadian Commissioner at the International
Exhibition, 1876.
Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity.
Petit Faune Entomologique du Canada.
Presented by J. J. Foote, Esq.
Proceedings of the New England Historic Genealogical
Society.
U. S. Geological Survey Reports, 11 vols.
Presented by Hon. W. C. Howells.
34th and 35th Annual Reports of the Board of Education.
New York, 1875, 76.
Journal of the Board of Education.
Dedication of the New York Normal College Edifice, Oct.
29th, 1873.
Report of Committee on Compulsory Education, New York.
Fourth Supplement to the Alphabetical Catalogue of the
Library of the Legislature, Prov. Que.
Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,
May to Nov., 1877.
Les Archives du Canada—L. P. Turcotte, Esq.
General Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Prov.
Quebec, 1876—Hon. P. Garneau.
Buletin de la Real Académie de la Historia, Madrid, Spain.
Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol.
19, Part. 2, March, May, 1877.
Maps of the North Sea Lands delineated upon a Chart in
the 14th Century by Antonio Zeno; also, a map of the
North Sea and Lands as known in 1877. Presented by
G. Arnold, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. J. M. LeMoine, Curator of the Museum, read the following report :—

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM.

The undersigned, in retiring from office, begs to report as follows for the information of the members:—

1st. The collection of animals, fishes, birds, eggs, &c., belonging to the Society, are in a good state of preservation.

2nd. No important additions have been made to any of the branches of zoology comprised in our collection.

3rd. Though the occasion has presented itself of enriching our Museum by some valuable specimens of Moose, Cariboo, Red Deer and Bears, the absence of a *locale*, prevented any such idea being entertained.

4th. In conformity with a recommendation adopted in last year's report, a long felt want has been at last supplied. The animals, fishes, birds, eggs, medals, woods, &c., have been catalogued with their Latin and English names, under the direction of the Curator. This indispensable requisite, which had been urged for the last sixteen years, naturally entailed considerable labor, the manuscript is now in the hands of the printers, and the catalogue itself will be ready for distribution at an early date.

5th. Students of Natural History will, it is hoped, find their task facilitated, by having access to the synoptical Chart of Canadian ornithology with the Latin, English and French names given, recently prepared by the undersigned, with a view of popularizing this beautiful science: an early copy of which Chart, he is happy in presenting to the society this day.

6th. In closing his tenure of office, the undersigned will again take the liberty to impress on the society, the expediency of completing its Museum, in its several departments, without omitting the collection of Canadian ores and minerals, and a herbarium of the Canadian Flora.

Respectfully submitted,

J. M. LEMOINE,

Curator of Museum.

Quebec, 9th January, 1878.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM DURING THE
YEAR 1877.

The receipt of the Quarter-Master of American Army, encamped before Quebec, in Dec., 1775, for two tierces of rum and two barrels of fish, certified by Brigadier Genl. Arnold. Presented by the President, Jas. Stevenson, Esq.

Tooth of a Walrus—E. Fales, Esq.

The autographs of Lord Brougham and the Right Honble. Geo. Canning. Presented by J. J. Foote, Esq.

Two paper quinze sous of 1837, dated at St. Luce, from W. Moody, Esq.

A piece of marble from the coffin of Robert the Bruce, two commissions bearing the autographs of George III, and of Sir R. Abercrombie, respectively; also, a coin of Pius IX, (silver,) two new German coins, and two specimens of Italian paper money. Presented by H. S. Scott, Esq.

Nine coins, English, Spanish and Italian, from J. J. Hatherly, Esq.

A Wellington token—Porf. McQuarrie.

Peruvian coin. Presented by Geo. Morgan, Esq.

Two Spanish coins, 1775-1784.

Mr. Wm. Hossack, Treasurer, read his report on the state of the funds of the Society.

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC,
IN ACCOUNT WITH THE TREASURER.

Dr.

1877.		
Jany. 1.	To balance on hand	\$ 669 71
	“ Government Grant	750 00
	“ Interest on deposits	22 85
	“ Subscriptions from Members	1158 00
	“ Received for sale of papers	16 00
		<hr/>
		\$2616 56

Cr.

1877.		
Dec. 31.	By paid rent	\$ 200 00
	“ “ Books, Periodicals, Printing and Advertising	1288 54
	“ Insurance	54 37
	“ Salaries	312 96
	“ Gas and Fuel	152 83
	“ For Museum	49 04
	“ Commission on Collections	86 97
	“ Miscellaneous charges	352 71
	“ Balance	119 14
		<hr/>
		\$2616 56

WM. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

Quebec, 9th January, 1878.

The meeting then proceeded to ballot for officers and

ad
C.
wi

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

PATRON.

The Honorable LUC LETELLIER de Saint Just, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec.

LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

Hon. George Bancroft, D.C.L. &c.	R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq., Advocate.
Prof. Daniel Wilson, LL.D.	Francis Parkman, LL.D., &c.
Admiral Bayfield.	Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.
Major-General Sir J. H. Leffroy, R.A., C.B., F.R.S.	Thomas Sopwith, Esq., M.A. F.R.S., F.G.S.
N. Gould, Esq.	Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R. Hist. Soc.
Henry Goadby, M.D.	Professor James Douglas, M.A., Past-President of the Society.
Professor Sterry Hunt, LL.D. F.R.S.	Wm. Kirby, Esq., author of "Le Chien d'Or".
General Paddeley.	John Reade, Esq., author of "The Prophecy of Merlin" and other poems.
Charles Lanman, Esq.	Hon. W. C. Howells, Consul for the United States of America.
John Miller Grant, Esq.	
John Langton, M.A., Past-President of the Society.	
E. A. Meredith, LL.D., Past-President of the Society.	
J. D. Harrington, Esq., Dep. Receiver General.	
E. F. Fletcher, Esq.	

LIST OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Akins, Dr. Thos. B., Halifax, N. S.	Filippi, Woldémar, le Comte, Paris.
Bury, Rt. Hon. Viscount, London.	Graham, Lt.-Col. U. S. A., Chicago.
Benavides, H. E. Don Anto- nio, President of the Royal Acad. of History, Madrid.	Gérin, E., M.P.P., Homme de Lettres, Trois-Rivières.
Baird, Spencer F., Smithso- nian Inst., Washington.	Grazillier, L'Abbé, Saintes, France.
Benwick, James, New York.	Henderson, W., Frampton.
Bourne, F. Orlandt, New York.	Heap, Ralph, London, G.B.
Brackenbury, Col., H. R.A., England.	Kingston, G. T., Professor, University College, Toronto.
Bois, Abbé, L.E., Maskinongé	Latour-Huguet, Montreal.
Chauveau, Hon. P. J. O.	Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, E., Montreal.
Cherriman, J. B., M.A.	Le Gardeur de Tilly, Hyppo- lite, le comte, Chantreau- près-Sainte, France.
Chapleau, J.A., M.P.P., Hon.	Marchand, F. G., M.P.P., Homme de Lett. St-Jean.
Cortambert, A., Membre de la Société de Géographie de Paris, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Nationale.	Noble, Captain R.A., F.R.S.
Boucher de Boucherville, Hon. C. B.	Provencher, N., Colonel, Manitoba.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, Membre de l'Inst. de France, Paris.	Roget, Peter Mark, London.
De Sola, Rev. A., Montreal.	Saban, Don Pedro, Secretary General of the Royal Aca- demy of History, Madrid.
DeSalas, Don Javier, Member of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, &c.	Sechelles de Desmazières, St. Malo, France.
D'Urban, W. S. M.	Sewell, Rev. Ed.
De Peyster, Gen. J. W., New York.	Sinding, Paul C., Professor, Copenhagen.
Dansereau, Arthur, Homme de Lettres, Montreal.	Shea, J.G., New York.
Donaldson, L., St. John, N.B.	Sulte, Benjamin, Homme de Lettres, Ottawa.
Dunn, Oscar, Homme de Lettres, Quebec.	Taylor, F.
Fortin, P., M.P., Hon. Com- missioner of Crown Lands Quebec.	Tilly, H.L.G., Ottawa.
	Wynne, Thomas H., Rich- mond, Va.

LIST OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.—(*Continued.*)

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Foote, S. B.
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Forrest, W. H.
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Fraser, Hon. J.
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Geggie, D. H.
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Gibson, W. C.
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Glover, Ths. (Life member)
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Hossack, J. F.
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Huot, L. H.
Holloway, F.
Hooker, Rev. Leroy.

Irvine, Hon. G.

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Joseph, M.
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Langlois, C. B.
Lamontagne, Lt.-Col. E.
Langelier, C.
Languedoc, W. C.
Laurie, F.
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Leggett, H. P.
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LeMoine, J. M.
LeMoine, Gasp.
Lesage, S.
LeSueur, P.
Light, A. L., C.E.
Lindsay, C.
Louis, D.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.—(*Continued*).

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.—(*Continued.*)

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Ross, J. G.
Rowand, A., M.D.
Roy, F. E., M.D.
Roy, D.
Russell, R. H., M.D.

Scott, H. S.
Scott, E.
Scott, T. M.
Schwartz, W. A., Consul.
Sewell, C. M.D.
Sewell, L.
Sharples, W.
Shaw, W.
Shaw, C. H.
Shaw, P. A.
Sheppard, H. C.
Sheppard, W. G.
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Smith, H. S.
Smith, R. H.
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Stavely, H.
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Stevenson, James.
Strang, J.
Strang, Lt. Col., R.A.
Sutton, Ed. O.

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Temple, C. V. M.
Temple, E. B.

Tessier, P. O.
Tessier, Jules.
Tessier, C.
Têtu, L.
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Thomson, D. C.
Thomson, J. C.
Thomson, H.
Thomson, F. C. B.
Turcotte, L. P.
Turner, R.
Turnbull, Col. J. F.

Veasey, G.
Veldon, J. J.
Vernier, J.
Von Iffland, Rev. A. A.

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Whitehead, J.
Whitehead, J. Louis
White, J.
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Withall, W.
Watters, A.
Watson, J.
Wurtele, R. H.
Wurtele, F. C.
Wurtele, W. G.
Wurtele, C. F.
Young, J. R.
Young, R. St. B.

PRIVILEGED MEMBERS

**GOVERNORS, PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF MORRIN
COLLEGE**

Life

OPENING ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

JAMES STEVENSON, PRESIDENT,

WEDNESDAY, 19TH DECEMBER, 1877,

* After the late Colonel By, Royal Engineers.

This Society, as far as I have had opportunities of judging, has realized the expectations of its Founder. Its rooms are the resort of those who find time to cultivate an acquaintance with literature, and who are desirous of diffusing knowledge. A few of its members continue to prosecute researches into the early history of Canada; and from time to time, useful information relating to the natural, civil, and literary history of the country, appears in our "Transactions". The aids which the Society affords to study, the museum and the library, are accessible to members during the greater part of the day, and are not allowed to fall into a state of decay or neglect; but are properly arranged, duly cared for, and frequently enriched by desirable additions.

Although the Society was formed chiefly for the purpose of prosecuting researches into the early history of Canada, its founder, the Earl of Dalhousie, was anxious to bring together and secure the co-operation of all those in the small community, who had given their attention to subjects of science, whether natural, physical or historical. Hence the museum for the purpose of exhibiting specimens of the Fauna and Flora, as well as the Archæology and Numismatology of the young colony. The department of Natural history—though somewhat foreign to the main purpose of our mission—has received a good deal of attention, and I believe the Ornithology, Oology, and Entomology of Lower Canada are fairly represented. Upon all those subjects, however, I can unfortunately say but little, for the simple reason that from my own ignorance of them, I have nothing to contribute. Still I am not insensible to the enjoyment which our collections must furnish to the students of natural history, and to every lover of nature.

As regards other objects in our museum, considerable interest is attached to the Indian relics, to some valuable old charts, a well executed drawing, representing the inte-

rior of the old church of the Recollet Fathers, models of forts, and other reminiscences of old buildings and places in Quebec, all which may be considered the commencement of a collection to be designated hereafter our Archæological Section. The Society is perhaps fortunate in the possession of these relics, for the mural monuments of Quebec, those mute chroniclers which better represent the character of a city than a score of books, are rapidly disappearing. Municipalities generally look upon things from the utilitarian point of view, and are never very favorably disposed towards old city walls, but look upon them as useless impediments to circulation. Old gateways, too, are an impediment to traffic, so that there is a strong tendency to demolish them. Artists and antiquarians, on the other hand, and all people who have either a love for the picturesque or a sentimental interest in the historical past, are eager to preserve such great visible relics of it, as walls and towers, which speak of it to all men, and once destroyed can never be restored. The familiar monuments, witnesses of olden times—our gates—are gone, but they may be replaced by others of modern and more ornamental construction. We have reason to hope they will, for our worthy Mayor informed us in a recent speech, that the Prime Minister had promised to place on the estimates for next session of the Dominion Parliament, an item for carrying out the improvements suggested by our distinguished Governor-General. I trust, therefore, that the old walls which surround the city proper, may be spared, and that suitable gates will be built in the breaches. There is a strong desire to preserve the monuments of the past in a city, rich in associations with memorable events and romantic adventure. Thanks to the enterprise and liberality of a few of our esteemed citizens the historic Plains of Abraham have been rescued from a discreditable condition, and are now surrounded by a substantial fence, while the Plains continue accessible as a promenade, a drive, or a parade ground.

Our limited collection of coins and medals, some of which are exhibited in the reading room, has no doubt been examined by many members. That collection has not been made for the mere purpose of gratifying or amusing antiquarian curiosity, but with a higher and more important object. No doubt public acts, official papers, journals and private memoirs are the sources from which the historian must draw his facts, but he frequently has recourse to cabinets of coins and medals for information. Old coins and medals may therefore be classed with historical documents, for they are of acknowledged value and service in the elucidation of history, especially of ancient history. Princes and corporations consecrate the memory of great events by striking medals, the material of which are so durable that many historical facts unnoticed in manuscripts and inscriptions, stand recorded upon medals. The national collections of Great Britain have recently been enriched by valuable trovers or finds. We read in Ruding that: "Some years ago, as four boys, under ten years of age, were playing at marbles, on a Sunday afternoon, on a small piece of pasture land, at Beaworth, in Hampshire, one of them discovered in the track of a wagon-wheel, a piece of lead sticking up above the surface; upon stooping down to take hold of it he perceived a small hole, into which he thrust his hand, and brought out a number of coins, his companions immediately following his example. Though they did not consider their treasure to be more than old buttons, they concealed part of them in an adjoining potato field, and others they took to the village of Beaworth, but treating them as of no value, some they jerked into the pond, and others they flung about the road. Half a dozen villagers who were as usual upon a Sunday afternoon, congregated in the street, were attracted by the circumstance, and being more aware of the value of the pieces thus discovered, hastened to the spot and commenced a regular scramble for the booty. As some of the parties

obtained possession of many more than others, the parents of the boys who first discovered the treasure, became dissatisfied, and appealed to the owner of the land. This gentleman immediately sent a confidential person to Beaworth to claim from the parties the delivery of the coins to him, which was readily complied with, though it is suspected not to the full extent; on the same evening he received upwards of six thousand. They were chiefly composed of coins of William the Conqueror and William II: and, according to the villagers' account, they were packed in regular layers, in a leaden case, with an attempt at chronological arrangement."

But perhaps the greatest discovery that has been made in modern times of treasure-trove, in the shape of ancient coins, has just occurred in Scotland, on the Montrave estate, belonging to Mr. John Gilmour, (son of the senior of one of the leading commercial houses in this city), who is now in this country, and from whom I have received the following interesting particulars on the subject: "Several farm laborers had been employed to drain a part of the land about 500 yards from the farm steading. The operations were being carried on two feet from where, according to the drain plan of the farm, laborers must have been engaged in a similar enterprise a quarter of a century ago. The soil is of the wet, boggy sort. The laborers had not been long at work, and had only got ten inches below the surface, when one of the picks struck upon what, at first seemed to be a round boulder, which was speedily unearthed, it then appeared that the stone was the cover of a large pot, into which it was firmly wedged. It was considerable time before the contents could be got out. Latterly this was accomplished, though with difficulty, and earth and coins emptied on the ground. It was a very tedious and difficult task to separate the pieces of silver

from the earth, the sides, and the bottom of the pot. Indeed the bottom of the pot remains inlaid with coins. On removal to Montrave House, the counting was proceeded with by Mr. and Mrs. Gilmour, when it was discovered that there were upwards of 10,700 pieces! The most of these are about the size and thickness of a well worn six-pence, a few the size of a florin, though not so thick, and a small number of medium size between these. From the partial examination that has been made, the silver pieces are evidently the coins of the realm that were used in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The most of the letters are obliterated. Some of them bear the words Rex Scotorum Dei Grati, and Rex Scotorum David Di Grati. These letters surround the head of a monarch on the one side, while on the other a cross extends over the whole silver piece, with four stars in angles in the centre. In several, three dots occupy the place of the stars. It is supposed that the coins were used in the reigns of Robert II, Robert III, David II, and in one or other of the Alexanders, and that they must have been in the position where they were found, for more than 300 years. The pot, which is in an excellent state of preservation, is about 20 inches high, 13 inches in diameter at the top, and bulging out towards the centre. It is evidently a bronze composition. The stone which covered the mouth of the pot is of a reddish color, very much decayed, and in a crumbling state”.

“Amongst the coins found at Montrave are many foreign imitations manufactured chiefly in Holland—raising interesting questions for the Antiquary and Historian. Half of the coins seem to be Scotch, half English, and many of them have a present market value for museums and private collections, of from \$25 to \$50 each; at these prices the 10,735 pieces would be worth converting into current coin. The Queen, however, is entitled to the whole and, all, including the pot, are now in London, where, after scientific

examination and classification, probably occupying a year or two, the final distribution will be made as may please Her Majesty. To the two men only who actually dug up the treasure, is any share of the find lawfully due. The proprietor of the estate, can demand nothing, although every reason exists for believing that when the investigation is over, he will receive back any portion he may in reason ask for."

"The kingdom of Fife, in which the Montrave estate is situated, is rich in Historical tit-bits, and there, as elsewhere, old coins and other relics are, no doubt, appropriated by the finders oftener than given up. On the estate of Largo, some years ago, an interesting and valuable suit of silver armour was found by a vagrant pedlar who unfortunately kept his secret until disposing of his find in the ordinary course of his trade, by peddling it piece by piece away, he lost to the country a priceless relic of the fierce old times". It has ever been considered as the common interest of mankind to concur in the preservation of old coins, for few monuments have contributed more to establish history upon a sound and trustworthy basis than the numary monuments.

And now leaving the museum, I turn to our extensive library, comprising upwards of thirteen thousand volumes. It would be difficult to construct a sentence which could convey an adequate idea of the collection of valuable books which it contains. Since the formation of the Society, many rare and valuable volumes have been damaged and destroyed by fire, but the liberal contributions which have since been made, from time to time, by the Government and by private individuals, have enriched the library with works which illustrate the truths of history, and exhibit the progress of science. The members of the Council, in making their selection of books, have not been unmindful

of the mission and objects of the Society, and consequently a preference has been shown for those more costly productions which few can afford to purchase, but which many feel bound to read; while the lighter and more graceful forms of literature have not been systematically excluded. A roomy fire-proof chamber has recently been constructed in the basement of this building, for the custody of old and rare works which could not be replaced in the event of loss; and to make security doubly sure, the chamber has been provided with an iron chest, in which historical manuscripts, memoirs and other documents which constitute the archives of the Society are deposited.

Since I last had the pleasure of meeting you, this society has published its transactions for 1876-7. and also a small volume of historical documents relating to the war of 1812. selected from those rare old pages in our possession, of the "Quebec Gazette". Among the documents which we have just published, will be found particulars of the engagement between the British man-of-war "Leopard". Captain Humphreys, and the American frigate "Chesapeake", Commodore Barron, one of the events, if not the very event, which brought on the war of 1812. I shall read a portion of a paper which I have just received from a friend relating to that affair. "In the early part of June, 1807, the fifty-gun ship "Leopard", Capt. Salasbury Pryce Humphreys, sailed from Halifax with an order addressed to the captains and commanders under the vice-Admiral's command, directing that in case of meeting the American frigate "Chesapeake" at sea, and without the limit of the United States, they were to show her Captain that order, and require to search for deserters from His Majesty's ships "Belleisle". "Bellona", "Triumph", "Melampus", "Chicester", "Halifax" and "Zenobia", and were to proceed and search for the same." "The 'Leopard' having weighed and made sail, arrived off Cape Henry within hail of the 'Chesapeake.'"

Captain Humphreys hailing, said, "He had despatches from the British Commander-in-Chief." The answer was "Send them on board, I shall heave to." Both vessels hove to at about half-past three in the afternoon, and in a few minutes Lieut. Meade went on board the "Chesapeake", bearing in addition to Vice-Admiral Berkley's order, already cited, a letter from Captain Humphreys to Commodore Barron, adverting to the order enclosed, and expressing a hope that every circumstance might be amicably arranged. At 4.15 in the afternoon, the boat not making her appearance, the "Leopard" recalled her by signal, and in a few minutes Lieut. Meade returned with Commodore Barron's reply : "I know of no such men as you describe, the officers who were on the recruiting service for this ship, were particularly instructed not to enter any deserters from His Britannic Majesty's ships, nor do I know of any being here." "The Commodore then states that his instructions are not to permit the crew of his ship to be mustered by any but her own officers, that he wishes to preserve harmony, and that he hopes his answer will prove satisfactory."

"The 'Leopard' then edged down nearer to the 'Chesapeake,' and Captain Humphreys again hailing, said:— 'Commodore Barron, you must be aware of the necessity I am under of complying with the orders of my Commander-in-Chief.' After this hail had been twice repeated, the only reply returned was, 'I do not understand what you say,' yet the words were distinctly heard by the hailing ship, and she was to windward. Captain Humphreys resolved no longer to be trifled with, and observing on board the American frigate indications of intended resistance, the 'Leopard' discharged a shot across the "Chesapeake's' forefoot. In a minute's time, a second shot was fired; and in two minutes more, or at 4.30 p.m., nothing but evasive answers being returned to the hails of Captain Humphreys, the 'Leopard' fired her broadside. Commodore Barron then

hailed; upon this, orders were given to cease firing ; but as the purport of the hail was only to intimate that he would send a boat on board the 'Leopard', and as the 'Chesapeake' was now clearly seen making preparations to return the fire, the thing was considered to be an artifice to gain time, and the 'Leopard' renewed her fire; the 'Chesapeake' returned a few straggling shots, not one of which struck her opponent, and at 4.45, just as the 'Leopard' had fired her third broadside, the American frigate *hailed down her colours.*"

"Almost immediately after the surrender of the American frigate, her fifth Lieutenant, Mr. Sidney Smith, came on board the "Leopard" with a verbal message from Commodore Barron, signifying that he considered the "Chesapeake" to be the "Leopard's" prize."

"At 5 p. m., Lieut. Gordon, J. Talcon, George Martin Guise and John Meade, with several petty officers and men, went on board the "Chesapeake" to fulfil the object of the orders of Vice-Admiral Berkley. The books of the "Chesapeake" were produced and the crew mustered, one only of the five deserters from the "Halifax" was found, but three were found from the "Melampus" frigate.

" With these, at 7.30 p.m., the "Leopard's" boat returned to the ship, bringing also Lieut. William Henry Allen, of the "Chesapeake", with a letter from Commodore Barron, again offering to deliver up the frigate as a prize. To this Capt. Humphreys replied, that having fulfilled his instructions, he had nothing more to desire, but must proceed to join his squadron, he then tendered assistance and deplored the extremity to which he had been compelled to resort. At 8 p.m. the "Leopard" made sail towards Lynhaven, and shortly after the "Chesapeake" did the same towards Hampton Roads."

“Unfortunately this encounter, although bloodless to the “Leopard”, was not so to the “Chesapeake,” the latter having had three seamen killed, the Commodore, one midshipman, and sixteen seamen severely wounded. Although no one could regret more than Captain Humphreys that the order should have issued, he performed the unpleasant duty imposed upon him like a gentleman and a true heart of oak. Admiral Berkley perfectly approved of the conduct of Captain Humphreys in the fulfilment of his duty, but the Captain was nevertheless visited with the condign displeasure of the Admiralty, was recalled, and never received any command afterwards, although he frequently applied for one. When the “Chesapeake” was captured by the “Shannon,” during the war of 1812, he earnestly solicited Lord Melville to give the command to him to whom she had previously lowered her colours; but neither this nor any other application met with success.” Twenty-seven years later, however, our sailor-king, William the IVth, having looked into the case of Captain Humphreys (afterwards better known as Sir Salasbury Pryce Davenport), conferred upon him the honor of Knighthood, thus tardily recognizing the merits of a brave officer. Through the kindness of his grandson, Malcolm Davenport, Esq., son of the late Captain Davenport, of the 39th Regiment, who married a daughter of Chief-Justice Sewell, one of our first presidents, I have been enabled to submit the particulars just read of the attack on the “Chesapeake,” and I am further enabled to bring the event vividly before you by exhibiting an admirable likeness of the gallant sailor—valuable both as a work of art and a historical relic—which has been entrusted, temporarily, to the safe-keeping of this society by the heirs of the family. Every possible reparation for the attack on the ‘Chesapeake’ was made and offered to the American Government. It was declared that the right of search, when applied to

ships of war, extended only to a *requisition*, and could not be carried into effect by force. But the wrath of America was unappeasable, the blow, the irreparable and unpardonable blow, had been struck.

The volumes of the *Quebec Gazette*, which afford further information on the same subject, contain numerous copies of important state papers relating to the civil and military history of Canada, published under the authority of the Executive Government. To trace the sources and movements of history in public documents is an enterprise full of interest and utility. In the perusal of historical works, otherwise nobly executed, we frequently meet with passages the accuracy of which has to be questioned ; for the historical imagination sometimes unconsciously paints a picture not of what took place, but of something entirely different ; something, perhaps, that harmonizes with the political bias of the author. I shall give an instance of this :—In one of our most interesting histories of England, it is stated that when King Charles I, who had left London to spend some time in Scotland, received the terrible news of the Irish rebellion, terrible because of the cruelties which were committed, “he sat down and wrote coolly, ‘I hope the ill-news of Ireland may hinder these follies in England.’ ” Now listen to what we have from other sources, from those who were in the company of the King at the time:—“The King was engaged in the game of golf,* on Leith Links, when in November, 1641, a letter was put into his hands which gave the first news of the Irish rebellion; on reading the letter he suddenly called for his coach, and leaning upon one of his attendants, in great agitation, he drove to Holyrood palace, from whence he

*The Royal and ancient game of golf, in which the King took delight, was introduced a few years ago into Canada by the present Captain of the Quebec Golf Club, C. Farquarson Smith, Esq., and is played with great zest, during the golfing season, by some of our citizens, over that extended common known as the Cove Fields, which golfers now call the Quebec *links*, in imitation of the custom in the Mother Country of applying the term *links* to an extended grass common or downs.

set out the next day for London.” This was, undoubtedly, his last game in Scotland, and probably the last game of golf he ever played. The touching story of the golfers bears upon its face the very stamp of truth, and removes the painful impression produced upon the mind by the implied heartlessness of the King, as he is represented in the historical narrative.

It would not be difficult to adduce other instances of conflicting testimony in historical literature, but I have said sufficient to show that for practical guidance in the construction of history, we have to depend upon such documents as this Society, in fulfilment of its mission, has published from time to time. Thus far the attention of its working members has been bestowed chiefly upon the early history of Canada under the French régime—a delightful theme, equally gratifying to the historical and the antiquarian taste. We have, however, reached a point, I think, in our search for materials belonging to that period of history, when we travel over the same ground again and again without making many new discoveries, and consequently it has been considered desirable to enter upon another field embracing a later period of our history, and to deal with it in the same manner that we have dealt with the elder. Hence the publication of the fifth series of historical documents which I have referred to, and which relate almost exclusively to the war of 1812, every event of which is interesting to us as Canadians.

In pursuance, then, of that design, it is the intention of the Society, I believe, to continue collecting and publishing such papers of interest as can be obtained, consisting of official documents, journals and memoirs relating to the war. The latter, I may add, are very rare; therefore, if any member of the society has such in his possession, or knows where they are to be found, I

shall be pleased if he will communicate with me on the subject with a view to their publication. One valuable *mémoire* has been transmitted to me by our esteemed friend, Colonel Coffin, of Ottawa, author of "The War of 1812 and its Moral," in whose behalf I have now the pleasure of presenting the memoir to the Society, as a gift, viz:—An autograph letter of the late Sir Etienne Taché, relating to the battle of Chateauguay and the attack on Plattsburg. I shall read an extract from a note, which I received from Colonel Coffin, accompanying the *mémoire*.

"I have been amusing myself," he says, "by-re-assorting papers relating to the war of 1812. Side by side with a very pleasant letter from yourself, I find a paper to which I attach more than ordinary historical importance. It is an autograph letter from Sir Etienne Taché, written in 1863, to assist chiefly in compiling my (intended) account of the Plattsburg campaign. I never got so far, and so the paper has remained unused. It is doubly valuable as a truthful and trustworthy narrative of the occurrences related, and as indicative of the modest and manly character of the writer. I think the paper too valuable to remain in my hands, and that the archives of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec would be an appropriate shrine for such a relique. I hasten, then, to place it, through you, at the disposal of this body, praying simply that in return they will have the goodness to cause a copy to be made and sent to me—retaining the original."

I shall now do myself the honor of reading the memoir, which I am sure will be listened to with attentive interest. It is dated

MONTMAGNY, 29^{me} MAI, 1863.

MON CHER COLONEL,

Je vous remercie bien sincèrement de votre obligeance, dans le dessein d'obtenir de moi des renseignements per-

sonnels touchant la bataille de Châteauguay, afin de vous permettre d'introduire mon nom dans la série de lectures que vous vous proposez de donner sur les événements de la guerre de 1812. Les choses changent bien dans le cours d'un demi-siècle, et les péripéties de la vie humaine étonnent souvent ceux qui en sont les jouets, tant dans la bonne que dans la mauvaise fortune.

Il y aura cinquante ans l'automne prochain que s'est livrée la bataille de Châteauguay. A cette époque je n'étais *qu'un pauvre petit lieutenant*, bien jeune, n'ayant que 18 ans. Vous vous proposez de donner, sur la dernière guerre avec nos voisins, des lectures *historiques*, sans doute, et non de la *poésie*, ou du *roman*, comme cela se pratique quelquefois. Or, *l'histoire*, c'est quelque chose de sacrée; l'histoire c'est la fille du ciel, qui n'admet pas l'ombre même d'un relief pour l'ornement d'un fait. Voici donc la part que j'ai réellement prise lors de l'événement mémorable en question. Deux de nos compagnies—la droite et la gauche, commandées par MM. les capitaines Lévesque et Debartch—furent chaudement engagées dans cette affaire; un lieutenant y fut blessé—Powell, des Townships—et plusieurs hommes tués et mis hors de combat, *mais je ne faisais pas partie de ces compagnies*. Le reste du bataillon, le 5ème ou "*Devil's own*," comme on l'appelait alors, parce qu'il y avait bien des avocats parmi les officiers, était stationné aux Cèdres et au Côteau-du-Lac. A la nouvelle de l'approche d'un gros corps ennemi se dirigeant *vers la fourche*, ordre fut donné au détachement stationné au Côteau-du-Lac de traverser incontinent à Beauharnois et de se porter en toute hâte sur Châteauguay. Ce détachement, composé de trois compagnies, était commandé par le Major Guy, et les Capitaines étaient Louis Joseph Papineau, La Rocque et votre humble serviteur, le petit Lieutenant de 18 ans, commandant une compagnie vacante en l'absence de son brave Capitaine, M. Berezy, remplissant à

cette époque, dans le Haut-Canada, des fonctions spéciales. Ce détachement, après avoir passé le fleuve, en toute hâte se dirigea à marches forcées à travers les bois, les rivières et les marais sur Châteauguay. Cependant il était décrété, là-haut, que, nonobstant nos fatigues et nos privations de toutes sortes, nous n'aurions pas le plaisir de tirer un coup de fusil, l'ennemi ayant pris la fuite peu de temps avant notre arrivée. Néanmoins nous pûmes occuper de suite une position militaire et nous préparer à prendre une bonne part à une nouvelle lutte, si l'ennemi eût voulu la recommencer. C'est sur la narration fidèle, et attestée, de la part que prit notre détachement à l'affaire de Châteauguay, que la Commission, chargée par les autorités Britanniques de la distribution des médailles, a accordé la médaille de Châteauguay aux officiers et aux miliciens de ce détachement qui l'ont réclamée. Ainsi vous voyez, mon cher Colonel, que si *mes lauriers* de Châteauguay n'ont pas été teints de sang, ils ont été en revanche mouillés de beaucoup de sueurs et couverts d'une énorme quantité de boue et de fange !

Le printemps suivant, dans le mois d'avril, le détachement dont je faisais partie, ayant passé l'hiver en garnison à Montréal, ne fut pas plus heureux, du moins quant à l'occasion de faire le coup de fusil. Sur la nouvelle d'une approche de l'ennemi vers Lacolle, il reçut ordre, avec trois jours de provisions, de se porter en toute hâte sur le point menacé. Nous passâmes le fleuve à la veille de la débâcle, non sans beaucoup de dangers, et nous dirigeâmes alors notre marche par Laprairie, St. Philippe, l'Acadie, Bartonville, sur Lacolle. Vous dire la misère et la fatigue que nous éprouvâmes durant tout le cours de cette expédition est chose impossible à décrire, et avant de bivouaquer le soir à Bartonville il nous fallut passer une petite rivière, moitié à la nage pour les plus petits, et à l'eau sous les aisselles pour les plus grands, les hommes, durant cette manœuvre, accrochant leurs gibernes entre la bayette du fusil

et le coude de la baïonnette pour préserver la poudre. Enfin, rendus à Bartonville, mouillés plus que des canards, il nous fallut coucher à *la belle étoile*, par une nuit très-froide du mois d'avril, et nous déshabiller *nus comme la main*, pour tordre nos vêtements et les faire sécher au feu de vieilles bâtisses que nous avions embrasées, et des piquets et perches de clôture qui se trouvaient à notre portée, dont nous nous servîmes toute la nuit pour combustible, durant de longues heures de souffrance. A l'heure qu'il est, je ne puis m'expliquer comment la grande moitié du détachement ne mourut pas de misère; mais la jeunesse a tant de viabilité; l'enthousiasme fait vaincre tant de périls ! Encore s'il nous eut été donné de pouvoir tirer un coup de fusil sur l'ennemi, cela nous eut dédommagé de bien des misères; mais arrivés le soir, à la nuit tombante, à Bartonville, les Américains venaient d'être repoussés quelques heures auparavant, et cela seulement à deux milles de distance d'où nous étions parvenus. Ainsi la gloire—voyez les caprices de Dame fortune—les lauriers furent pour ceux qui n'avaient pas fait un mille pour se déplacer; la fatigue, la misère, les dangers de l'immersion totale du corps, à cette saison de l'année, le dépit de n'avoir pas combattu l'ennemi, après tant de souffrances, devinrent notre partage; et il nous fallut rebrousser chemin, la tête basse; c'est bien ce qui s'appelle, à juste titre! "fortune de guerre."

La campagne de 1814 s'étant ainsi ouverte pour nous d'une manière assez désagréable, se termina, en revanche, il faut le dire, d'une manière plus conforme au naissant esprit militaire qui commençait à se manifester alors chez tous nos compatriotes. En revenant donc de Bartonville, nous rencontrâmes l'Honorable Gerald de Courcy, ci-devant Major au 70ème Régiment d'infanterie, qui venait d'être nommé Lieutenant-Colonel de notre bataillon, lequel, dès lors transformé en bataillon d'infanterie légère, fut appelé

“Chasseurs Canadiens.” Depuis cette époque—la fin d’avril 1814—jusqu’à la marche de l’armée échelonnée depuis Chambly à Odletown, sur le territoire ennemi, au commencement de Septembre, ce ne fut pour nous qu’exercice et manœuvres du matin au soir. Notre jeune et infatigable chef étant debout au *réveille*—4 heures du matin—jusqu’à la nuit noire, nous donnait une heure pour déjeuner, une heure-et-demie pour diner, une heure pour souper, et employait le reste du temps, sans relâche, à l’instruction des officiers et des soldats. Aussi fallait-il voir notre corps, vers la fin d’août, comme il était beau, comme il manœuvrait fièrement en ligne, côte-à-côte des Wellingtoniens; comme il bondissait de jeunesse et d’enthousiasme, comme il avait confiance en sa force ! Excusez, mon cher Colonel, ces réminiscences d’un demi-siècle : l’âge affaiblit le corps, et je sens des larmes involontaires s’échapper de mes yeux. La marche sur Plattsburg ayant été ordonnée, les Chasseurs Canadiens, les Voltigeurs, appartenant à la brigade Brisbane, longèrent les bords du lac Champlain, suivis du 103ème et du 13ème Régiments d’infanterie, composant cette brigade, tandis que les brigades Power et autres se portaient sur le même point par le chemin intérieur et parallèle à celui du lac. La gauche en tête, les Chasseurs ayant eu l’honneur d’être appelés à former l’avant-garde, mon brave Capitaine, William Berezy, qui alors avait repris le commandement de sa compagnie, celle de la gauche, eut l’avantage d’ouvrir la marche avec ses tirailleurs. Les tirailleurs ennemis firent bien frime de nous inquiéter, mais notre feu bien nourri, dans tous les cas, nous en débarrassa bien promptement. La colonne, arrivée à trois ou quatre milles de la place, se vit tout à coup arrêtée par des embarras considérables; des pins de trois à quatre pieds de diamètre ayant été jetés pêle-mêle, tête bêche, à travers la voie principale. D’abord le Général mit à l’œuvre ses sapeurs Wellingtoniens; mais que faire avec des hommes n’ayant que des serpes et des égohines “*handsaws*” pour

couper des pins de trois pieds sur la souche ? Alors de Courcy et Herriot se procurèrent des haches, et cent bons bras Canadiens, mettant le fusil de côté pour un instant, commencèrent l'œuvre du déblaiement. Les pins se séparèrent en pièces de vingt pieds de long, comme par enchantement ; on les place à droite et à gauche de la route ; la colonne, arrêtée pour un instant, reprend sa marche ! infanterie, artillerie et cavalerie se dirigent en avant. C'est alors que j'entendis un officier de l'état-major du Général Brisbane s'écrier : "*what smart young fellows; what should we have done without these lads.*" Deux heures après la tête de la colonne, c'est-à-dire, mon vaillant Capitaine Berezy, arrivait à "*Dead Creek,*" qu'il fallut passer à gué, l'eau étant à demi-jambe, et fort agréable à cette saison de l'année, offrant un grand contraste, pour la sensation et la profondeur, avec la petite rivière que nous avons passée le mois d'avril précédent en approchant de Bartonville. Débarrassés alors des tirailleurs ennemis, nous nous trouvâmes en face du lac Champlain, en vue de la belle flotte Américaine, qui semblait nous défier, et qui, ayant des chaloupes canonnières sur les bords du lac, nous salua de son mieux, sans que nos chefs daignassent répondre à cet acte d'agression. Pendant six jours nous fûmes occupés à la tranchée et à la protection de nos ouvrages, à demi-portée de canon de l'ennemi.

Le jour de l'assaut, dont le signal devait être donné par l'attaque de notre flotte, la compagnie Berezy, toujours la gauche en tête, étendait son front en tirailleurs sur notre côté de la rive de la Saranaque, et les tirailleurs Américains nous rencontrant, en manœuvrant en sens inverse, il s'ensuivit une bien vive fusillade, durant laquelle notre compagnie, d'un effectif de 70, eut treize hommes de tués et mis hors de combat en moins de quinze minutes. Mais le Capitaine Berezy m'ayant ordonné d'aller informer le Colonel de ce qui se passait, celui-ci ordonnant un "à

gauche—pas de course !” au reste du bataillon, les Voltigeurs, stationnés sur notre droite, en faisant de même, en un clin d’œil ce renfort opportun chassa dans l’intérieur du bois la force qui nous était opposée.

Je n’entreprendrai pas ici de blâmer, de justifier ou d’expliquer tout ce qui est arrivé dans le cours de la malheureuse expédition de Plattsburg. J’ai désiré me borner dans cette lettre à faire voir le rôle que jouèrent les Voltigeurs et les Chasseurs Canadiens dans cette occasion. Les Chasseurs, arrivés les premiers devant Plattsburg, furent aussi les derniers à laisser cette place: ils avaient formé l’avant-garde en marchant contre l’ennemi, ils durent former l’arrière-garde en retenant sur le territoire Canadien. Quant à la part que prirent dans les chaloupes canonnières, deux compagnies du 3ème bataillon—les compagnies de flancs—je prends la liberté de vous référer à un petit mémoire que j’ai publié dans les “Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Historique de Montréal, troisième livraison,” que je vous envoie, et que je vous prie de me renvoyer lorsque vous l’aurez lu, n’ayant que cette copie. Indépendamment de cette brochure, je vous expédie par la poste de ce jour trois exemplaires d’un petit opuscule que je viens de publier sur l’organisation des Volontaires et de la Milice. En somme, si l’expédition de Plattsburg a été une affaire manquée pour l’état, elle n’en a pas moins été une belle occasion pour les Franco-Canadiens, qui n’étaient pas tenus, par la loi, de faire une guerre d’agression en pays ennemi—de montrer que les frimas du Canada n’avaient en rien refroidi l’ardeur belliqueuse des petits-fils de la vieille France; que, semblables en tout à leurs ancêtres, ils savaient donner des preuves de cette gaieté inépuisable, de cette agilité incroyable, de ce mépris de la vie qui, à toutes les époques de l’histoire de l’Europe, a distingué le soldat Français.

Tout à vous,

E. P. TACHÉ.

The late Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merrit, of Niagara, a contemporary of Sir Etienne, a fellow soldier, and subsequently a fellow legislator, left a diary which he kept during the war—a mass of papers—no doubt of much historical value, but they were all burnt up with the town of Niagara. The raw material out of which history is formed consists of such papers! their safety and preservation is therefore a matter of importance to the common interest. We have, I fear, reason to apprehend that valuable historical documents are not lodged in places of safety. It is therefore the duty of the society to take cognizance of this, and to protect the archives of the country by every means in its power. At a Convention recently held in Ottawa, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Hall of L'Institut Canadien, the subject of the archives of Canada was discussed. This society sent two delegates to that Convention, Past-President J. M. LeMoine, Esq., and Vice-President Colonel Strange, and on their return they submitted a lucid report of the proceedings, adverting more especially to the subject of the archives. Their views correspond with those expressed by one of our late Presidents —“That our first efforts should be directed to making arrangements for collecting together, assorting and indexing the very valuable historical documents which we already possess, but which are unavailable from being scattered from one end of the Dominion to the other.” No doubt that course should be adopted, and this society should join with others of kindred purpose in memorializing the Dominion Government upon the expediency, or rather the necessity of securing the safety and preservation of the archives by gathering them together into one Public Record Office. I shall not, however, attempt to discuss the subject in the last paragraph of an address already spun out to too great length; but I will suggest that a special general meeting should be called for the purpose of dealing with it in a manner calculated to lead to practical and beneficial results.



LA SOCIÉTÉ LITTÉRAIRE ET HISTORIQUE DE QUÉBEC,

PAR

LOUIS P. TURCOTTE.

——— o ———

CONFÉRENCE LUE DEVANT LA SOCIÉTÉ LE 19 DÉCEMBRE
1877.

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M. le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs,

J'ai cru devoir me rendre à l'invitation que m'a souvent réitérée votre digne Président, de donner une conférence sous le patronage de la Société Littéraire et Historique. Membre de cette association depuis sept ans, j'ai pris beaucoup d'intérêt à ses œuvres, j'ai suivi attentivement ses travaux, j'ai toujours noté les services qu'elle a rendus aux lettres de concert avec les autres sociétés savantes.

Convaincu que vous prendrez le même intérêt que moi aux fastes historiques de la société, j'ai préparé cette étude qui vous fera connaître les travaux des fondateurs, génération d'hommes qui a laissé des traces profondes de son passage, les difficultés que la société a soutenues, et les phases par lesquelles elle a passé pour arriver au degré de prospérité actuelle.

Dans le tableau qui va se dérouler devant vous, vous verrez quels changements sont survenus dans la littérature et les sciences depuis le temps où quelques hommes dévoués jetaient les bases de la Société Littéraire et Histo-

rique. Aujourd'hui, des sociétés savantes dispersées dans tout le pays, de riches bibliothèques, des littérateurs brillants soit dans la langue de Shakespeare, soit dans celle de Bossuet; à cette époque (1824) nulle société littéraire, deux ou trois bibliothèques publiques composées de quelques milliers de volumes; à peine quelques littérateurs, entre autres Smith, Bouchette et Christie, qui ont laissé des œuvres de mérite. A part cela, apparaissent de rares brochures politiques sous le voile de l'anonyme, quelques écrits littéraires ou historiques publiés dans les revues et les journaux politiques. .

Rien d'étonnant de voir aussi peu de personnes s'occuper de sciences et d'histoire, lorsqu'il n'y avait presque pas d'encouragement, lorsque les bibliothèques et les centres d'étude manquaient. Le Canada était encore dans l'enfance, et les intérêts matériels captivaient particulièrement les esprits.

Cependant la prospérité croissante de la province et l'augmentation rapide de la population allaient bientôt créer des besoins et des goûts nouveaux. Le Canada devait subir les transformations communes à tout peuple appelé à de hautes destinées, avoir ses sociétés littéraires, ses savants, ses poètes. Pour cela, il fallait préparer les voies, créer un mouvement littéraire.

C'est ce que comprirent les fondateurs de notre société. Ils prévirent quelle somme de bien pouvait produire une institution destinée à développer le bon goût, à faire aimer les études sérieuses.

Transportons-nous à la fin de l'année 1823. A l'appel de Lord Dalhousie, gouverneur du Canada, quelques citoyens éclairés se réunirent au Château St-Louis, où le gouverneur lui-même leur exposa les avantages d'une Société Littéraire et Historique. Son plan fut accueilli avec le

plus grand enthousiasme, et le 6 janvier suivant, il présidait à l'assemblée préliminaire de la première société savante du Canada. *

Si l'un des objets de la société était de propager les connaissances littéraires et scientifiques, ce n'était pas là son principal but. Dans une adresse au public, les fondateurs exposent que les premiers et principaux objets seront de réunir les matériaux épars de notre histoire, de traduire et de publier des manuscrits et des ouvrages rares, tâche patriotique qu'elle a poursuivie pendant un demi-siècle dans l'intérêt de notre histoire. †

* On y élut les officiers et l'on nomma un comité chargé de faire les règlements de la société; ces règlements furent approuvés dans une assemblée générale tenue le 15 mars suivant.

Voici les noms des officiers : Patron, Lord Dalhousie ; Président, Sir F. N. Burton ; Vice-Présidents, l'Hon. Juge J. Sewell, M. Vallières de St-Réal ; Secrétaire, M. Wm. Green ; Trésorier, M. John C. Fisher.

La société choisit pour emblème un soleil levant sur un pays que l'on défriche, et pour devise *Nititur in lucem*.

† Une brochure intitulée: *Quebec Literary and Historical Society* (20 pages, 8vo, 1824), contient les règlements de la société et une adresse au public. Voici de nombreux extraits de cette intéressante brochure :

“Quoiqu'il entre dans les vues de la Société d'embrasser par la suite tous les objets d'intérêt et de recherches littéraires, elle a considéré qu'il était expédient, quant à présent et dans son enfance, de borner ses recherches à l'investigation des points d'histoire immédiatement liés avec les Canadas. Il est possible que nous ne parvenions jamais à nous procurer ni à fournir des annales complètes du pays ; mais nous sommes persuadés, que nous ne tarderons pas à être en état de répandre quelques lumières sur les époques les plus remarquables de notre histoire, et d'en mettre au jour les détails les plus intéressants et les plus singuliers. On doit même concevoir que l'histoire du Canada, dans les commencemens de son établissement, doit fournir abondance de matériaux remplis de descriptions frappantes et de situations romantiques. La seule circonstance d'une civilisation transplantée de l'ancien monde remplaçant le barbarisme, indigène des naturels, après avoir cependant lutté assez longtemps pour inspirer un certain degré de respect pour ces hordes sauvages qu'elle a subjuguées ou converties, semble présenter un contraste aussi étrange que remarquable, et bien capable d'exciter la curiosité et l'intérêt les plus vifs.

“Les premiers et principaux objets de la Société seront donc naturellement de découvrir et de soustraire à la main destructive du temps les fastes qui peuvent encore exister de l'histoire des premiers temps du Canada, de préserver, tandis que c'est encore en notre pouvoir, tous les documens qui peuvent se trouver dans la poussière de dépôts qui n'ont pas encore été visités, et être importants à l'histoire en général et à cette Province en particulier. Documens précieux quant au présent et à l'avenir, et peut-être encore plus intéressants à nos habitans, quant à ce qui regarde l'extinction progressive des hordes sauvages, que tout autre objet de recherche.

“Les objets qui paraissent devoir ensuite attirer l'attention de la Société sont d'encourager par tous les moyens possibles la découverte, la collection et l'acquisition de toutes les informations tendant à répandre du jour sur l'histoire naturelle, civile et littéraire de l'origine des Provinces Britanniques dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, de procurer, même à nos frais, quand cela sera praticable et nécessaire, la traduction et dans certains cas la publication des manuscrits précieux ou des ouvrages rares sur

Dès le début l'on compta dans la société les plus hauts personnages de l'époque, les hommes remarquables par leur science et leur position, les officiers de l'armée et de la marine: c'était Lord Dalhousie, premier patron; le Lieutenant-Gouverneur Sir François Burton, premier président; l'Hon. juge-en-chef Sewell et M. Vallières de St Réal, vice-présidents; M. Andrew Stuart, l'Hon. John Hale, l'Hon. Wm Sheppard, l'Hon. juge Reid, le Dr Wilkie, M. Wm Green et M. John C. Fisher.

L'encouragement partait donc de bien haut. Pendant son séjour au Canada, Lord Dalhousie s'intéressa au succès de la société, il voulut bien lui faire un don annuel de \$400; bien plus, il mit souvent le Château St Louis à la disposition des membres. † C'est là que furent données les premières conférences, et que se tinrent les premières réunions. Sans être littérateur, ni savant, Lord Dalhousie avait du goût pour les lettres et les sciences. Partout où il alla, dans sa longue carrière militaire, il se fit suivre de sa bibliothèque, et se plut à former des collections d'histoire naturelle. Sans approuver sa conduite administrative au Canada, nous aimons à lui rendre cette justice qu'il sut encourager les lettres, exciter l'émulation parmi la classe instruite, et par là mériter la profonde reconnaissance de tous les Canadiens.

ces objets qui pourront être découverts dans quelque collection publique ou privée, et d'encourager et récompenser de telles découvertes par tous les moyens en notre pouvoir.

"Les communications sur les sujets ci-dessus, produites par les Membres et approuvées par le Comité d'administration, seront lues dans les assemblées générales de la Société, et on y fera choix de celles que la Société jugera propres à être publiées sous le titre de "Transactions de la Société."

"Nous sommes grandement encouragés dans notre entreprise par la croyance, disons plus, par la certitude apparente qu'il existe encore quantité de manuscrits et de pièces imprimées répandus dans le pays, dans la possession des différens corps religieux ou de divers individus, ou mis de côté comme inutiles et de peu de valeur dans les caisses des offices publics. Nous ne doutons nullement que ces corps religieux ou que ces individus ne concourent avec nous au succès des vues de cette institution, en nous communiquant ces pièces pour en faire l'examen, et même les transcrire s'il est nécessaire."

‡En 1830, il y eut quatre séances au Château St Louis. Nous sommes porté à croire que dès le commencement la société eut dans l'Union Building ou Hôtel Union, plusieurs salles qu'elle occupa pendant nombre d'années. Plus tard, lorsque le siège du gouvernement fut transféré à Kingston et ailleurs, elle occupa plusieurs salles des bâtisses du Parlement.

Les débuts de la jeune société furent assez brillants, si l'on en juge par le premier volume de ses *Transactions* ou *Annales* publié en 1829. Ce volume contient la conférence d'inauguration de l'Hon. juge Sewell, intitulée: "Early civil and ecclesiastical and judicial history of France;" un essai historique de M. Andrew Stuart sur le Saguenay; des écrits scientifiques du Capt. Bayfield, de l'Hon. Wm Sheppard, de M. Wm Green, &c., qui firent connaître les ressources minéralogiques et géologiques du Canada. Le volume se termine par le catalogue d'un herbier canadien fait et donné à la société par la comtesse Dalhousie, et le catalogue d'une collection minéralogique. §

Comme on le voit, la société porta peu d'attention à l'histoire du Canada; elle s'occupa de préférence des sciences naturelles et de la création d'un musée qui devint bientôt considérable. Afin d'exciter plus d'émulation pour les études, elle ouvrit des concours sur des sujets littéraires et scientifiques, et récompensa les meilleurs travaux. Déjà, en 1828, elle couronnait un poème français, le *Siège de Missolonghi*; un poème anglais de M. W. Hawley, intitulé: *The Canadian Harp*, et un essai sur la conchologie des environs de Québec, par Mme Sheppard, épouse de l'Hon. M. Sheppard. †

Vous êtes étonnés, messieurs, de voir les dames prendre part au mouvement scientifique de cette époque, et se plaire dans des études aussi sérieuses. L'exemple de la Comtesse Dalhousie et de Mme Sheppard devait être d'un grand encouragement pour les fondateurs de notre institution.

§ L'auteur du *PICTURE OF QUEBEC*, 1831, dit : "Their museum is open for the reception of the visitors in the building corner of Fort Street, occupied for the Public Offices of Government." Ce petit volume contient la liste des tableaux et d'autres détails sur le musée.

† Bibaud, *Tableau des progrès du Canada*, page 26.

Le rapport du Conseil de 1831 mentionne que pour exciter le goût des études scientifiques la Société Littéraire engagea M. John Furch pour donner des conférences sur la géologie et la minéralogie, et que ses dépenses furent défrayées par une souscription.

Heureux serions-nous, mille fois heureux, si les dames savantes d'aujourd'hui, à l'instar des dames d'autrefois, prenaient une part plus active au mouvement littéraire. Espérons que les traits déjà cités auront leurs bons effets à l'avenir.

Les travaux de la Société Littéraire et Historique eurent pour résultat de répandre le goût des études, non seulement dans notre ville, mais aussi dans les autres grands centres. A Montréal, les citoyens fondèrent (1827) la *Société d'Histoire Naturelle*, qui subsiste encore aujourd'hui, et le *Mechanic Institute*, organisé l'année suivante. Vers la même époque, M. Bibaud commençait la publication de la *Bibliothèque Canadienne* et des autres revues qui contiennent ses travaux historiques, ceux de Jacques Viger, de Labrie, et autres. La *Minerve* fut fondée par MM. Morin et Duvernay. Puis on vit le *Canadien* reparaître avec M. Etienne Parent pour rédacteur-en-chef. Partout on remarquait un mouvement plus accentué pour la littérature et l'histoire.

A Québec une autre société fut fondée, en 1827, pour l'encouragement des arts et des sciences au Canada. Elle comptait parmi ses membres M. Joseph Bouchette, président, et le Dr Tessier, secrétaire, qui tous deux avaient beaucoup travaillé à son établissement; M. Louis Plamondon, l'Hon. Wm Sheppard, et MM. Vallière de St Réal et Andrew Stuart, vice-présidents. * Plusieurs de ses membres appartenaient à la Société Historique; mais les Canadiens-Français en formaient la majorité. Pendant sa courte existence, la Société des Arts donna plusieurs séances au Château St-Louis, et accorda des prix pour promouvoir la littérature et les sciences. †

* Bibliothèque Canadienne, vol. 5, p. 39.

† L'Hon. Wm. Sheppard, de Woodfield, lut devant cette société un essai, intitulé: "Observations on the American plants described by Charlevoix, ' reproduit dans le 1er vol. des *Transactions*."

Comme son prédécesseur, Sir James Kempt accorda son haut patronage aux deux sociétés savantes de Québec, et leur fit des dons; mais voyant que toutes deux avaient un but à peu près identique, il suggéra de n'en faire qu'une seule, afin de réunir les talents et les ressources des deux sociétés: c'est ce qui eut lieu le 4 juin 1829. †

Cette fusion porta à 130 le nombre des membres, et permit à beaucoup de Canadiens d'origine française de figurer dans la société. Il y eut alors plusieurs années de progrès toujours croissant, dû au zèle déployé par les membres, à une allocation du gouvernement, à partir de 1830, et à la fondation de concours. En 1831, la société offrit 32 prix, répartis dans les différentes branches des connaissances humaines; et afin de permettre aux spécialistes de développer leurs goûts, il se forma quatre comités ou classes pour l'histoire naturelle, la littérature, les sciences et les arts, || moyen excellent de réunir les spécialistes, qui pouvaient alors se communiquer leurs connaissances, et arriver ainsi à des résultats magnifiques.

En 1830, la société demande, par une pétition à la Législature, une allocation spéciale, pour lui permettre d'acheter certains instruments scientifiques. Nos législateurs s'empressèrent de voter une somme de \$1,000, avec laquelle on fit des acquisitions importantes. *

† Les deux sociétés prirent temporairement le nom de *Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts and Historical researches in Canada*; mais le nom de *Société Littéraire et Historique* prévalut bientôt.

|| Nous croyons que ce changement date de 1830. Pour cette année, les présidents de chaque comité étaient le Dr Wm. Kelly, pour l'histoire naturelle; le Rév. M. Holmes pour les arts; M. T. Lloyd, M.D., pour les sciences, et M. John C. Fisher pour la littérature.

* Voir les *Journaux de l'Assemblée Législative et les Statuts* de 1830.

Dans la préface du 2^e volume des *Transactions* on lit ce qui suit : "A grant of £250 supplied by the liberality of the Provincial Government, together with a considerable sum of the society's private fund has been laid out in the purchase of books on useful and scientific subjects and of instruments and materials for chemical analysis and experiments for demonstrations in natural philosophy and for practical astronomy.

L'allocation de 1831 fut de £100; celle des années suivantes £50; il faut cependant exempter les années de 1835 à 1837, où il n'y eut pas, croyons-nous, de sommes votées.

La société prit un tel développement qu'elle demanda une charte royale, qui lui fut octroyée le 5 octobre 1831, par Guillaume IV. Cette charte contient la liste de tous les membres d'alors. §

L'année suivante fut publié le 2e volume des *Transactions* ; le 3e volume parut en 1837. Avant d'aller plus loins, arrêtons-nous un instant sur cette pléiade de savants qui a jeté les bases de la Société Historique, et dont les travaux ont enrichi ses annales.

Nous avons déjà mentionné l'Hon. juge J. Sewell, qui prit une part active à la prospérité de l'association ; fut élu trois fois président, et lut plusieurs conférences de mérite ; le lieutenant F. Baddely,* président en 1829, et l'Hon. M. Sheppard, président en 1834, qui tous deux furent les promoteurs du mouvement scientifique et fournirent plusieurs essais sur les sciences naturelles.

§ Nous croyons devoir intéresser le lecteur en donnant cette liste au complet :

George, Comte de Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, John Adams, Edmund William Romer Antrobus, Charles Ardouin, Thomas Cushing Aylwin, Frederick Baddely, Henry W. Bayfield, Francis Bell, Henry Blake, Edward Bowen, William Brent, Joseph Bouchette, Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, Joseph Bouchette, junior, George Bourne, Judge Burton, Edward Burroughs, John Caldwell, Hugh Caldwell, Archibald Campbell, Charles Campbell, John Saxton Campbell, John Cannon, Edward Caron, John P. Cockburn, Andrew Wm. Cochran, Thomas Coffin, James Cuthbert, John Davidson, William H.A. Davies, Dominick Daly, Jérôme Demers, Edward Desbarats, Frederic Desbarats, Robert D'Estimauville, William Dudley Dupont, William Bowman Felton, John Charlton Fisher, John Fletcher, William Findly, James B. Forsyth, John Fraser, John Malcolm Fraser, François Xavier Garneau, Augustin Germain, Manly Gore, William Green, Louis Gury, John Hale, James Hamilton, André Rémi Hamel, Joseph Hamel, Victor Hamel, Aaron Hart, James Harkness, William Henderson, Frederick Ingall, William Kemble, William Kelly, James Kerr, Pierre Laforce, Louis Lagueux, William Lanpson, Pierre de Salles Laterrière, Thomas Lee, junior, Joseph Légaré, Henry Lemesurier, Thomas Lloyd, William Lyons, Frederick Maitland, John McNider, William McKee, William King McCord, Roderick McKenzie, John Langly Mills, Thomas Moore, Joseph Morrin, Georges J. Mountain, Henry Nixon, Charles Panet, Joseph Parent, Etienne Parent, Augustus Patton, François Xavier Perrault, Joseph François Perrault, William Power, Francis Ward Primrose, William Price, Rémi Quirouet, William Rose, John Richardson, Randolph I. Routh, William Sax, Jonathan Sewell, Edmund Sewell, Robert S. M. Sewell, William Sheppard, Peter Sheppard, Joseph Skey, William J. Skewes, William Smith, James Smilie, William Stringer, Charles James Stewart, Lord Bishop of Quebec, James Stuart, David Stuart, Andrew Stuart, Joseph Signay, Robert Symes, Jean Thomas Taschereau, John Pyefinch Thirlwall, Henry Trinder, Joseph Rémi Vallières de St. Réal, George Vanfelson, Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, George Usborne, George A. Wanton, Gustavus Wicksteed, Daniel Wilkie, George Willing, Thomas William Willan, George Wurtele et Jonathan Wurtele.

* En 1834, M. F. N. Baddely reçut une médaille dans un concours ouvert en 1831 sur le sujet suivant : "*On the location of the metallic minerals in Canada.*"

L'Hon. M. Sheppard était un naturaliste distingué, ainsi que son épouse, qui mérita un des prix de la société. On rapporte un fait bien douloureux pour ces deux époux. En 1842, au retour de l'église, ils trouvèrent brûlés une galerie de peinture, un beau musée d'histoire naturelle et une bibliothèque de 3000 volumes. †

Nous mentionnerons encore le Dr Joseph Sky, le Dr Wilkie et le Dr Wm Kelly, qui, comme présidents, rendirent des services à la société, et lurent plusieurs essais sur les sciences; M. Green, savant distingué, fut longtemps secrétaire de notre association, et l'Hon. A. W. Cochran, rédacteur du *Mercury* et littérateur de mérite, déploya un zèle infatigable, et fut sans contredit un de nos plus grands bienfaiteurs.

Deux membres qui illustrèrent le plus la Société Historique furent M. Andrew Stuart et M. John C. Fisher, les auteurs reconnus du magnifique volume intitulé: "*Picture of Quebec*," et publié par M. Hawkins. Né à Kingston, M. Stuart fut plusieurs fois élu député de Québec. Célèbre par ses talents brillants, par ses connaissances variées, et surtout par son éloquence, ce savant donna son concours à toutes les sociétés littéraires. Trois fois président de la Société Historique, il lui porta toujours une attention particulière; il fournit plusieurs essais intéressants, et s'occupa spécialement de la publication des annales. Enfin, il contribua beaucoup à obtenir le premier octroi destiné à la publication des *Mémoires*.

M. John Charlton Fisher, gradué d'Oxford, était un littérateur distingué, et de plus un savant. Après avoir rédigé le *New York Albion*, il vint au Canada, à la demande de Lord Dalhousie, et fut le rédacteur conjoint de la *Ga-*

† On a dit à tort qu'un des enfants de M. Sheppard périt en même temps. M. Sheppard mourut en 1867. Nous trouvons une biographie de ce savant dans l'*Album du Touriste* de M. LeMoine.

*zette de Québec, par autorité, avec M. W. Kemble. Si l'on en croit l'Hon. M. Sheppard, il aurait suggéré à Lord Dalhousie de fonder à Québec notre institution sur le même genre que la Société Littéraire et Historique de New-York, dont il avait été membre. **

Quoi qu'il en soit, de 1824 à 1846, il fut un des membres les plus zélés de notre société, remplissant souvent la charge de secrétaire, celle de président du comité de littérature, et en 1846, celle de président actif. Il mourut en 1849.

Tels sont les savants qui ont dirigé le mouvement scientifique et littéraire de 1825 à 1850, et dont les travaux se trouvent dans les trois premiers volumes des *Transactions*. Nous devons ajouter que le 2e volume contient un essai français de M. Joseph Perrault, intitulé: "*Plan raisonné d'éducation du Bas-Canada,*" et un autre de M. Berthelot, "*Dissertation sur un canon de bronze découvert à l'entrée de la Rivière Jacques-Cartier.*"

* Le Professeur Douglass s'exprime ainsi dans une conférence publiée dans le No 4, des *Transactions* N. S.:—

"The origin of our society was explained last year (1864), by one of the original members, the Hon. W. Sheppard, in an address at a conversazione of the Natural History Society, of Montreal. "Strange to say, he remarks, its formation was "brought about indirectly by a political movement, in his wise: It is no doubt "known to many of you that the late John Neilson was the owner of the *Quebec Gazette*, established in 1764. In virtue of an act of Parliament, it possessed the privilege of publishing all official documents as they occurred. Neilson was a great "politician, and was opposed to Lord Dalhousie in some point of government. This "opposition Lord Dalhousie could not tolerate, and he came to the determination of "establishing a paper which he could control, calling it the *Quebec Gazette*, by "authority; and he caused Dr. Fisher, co-editor of the *New York Albion*, to come "to take charge of it. Dr. Fisher had been a member of the Literary and Historical "Society of New York. He persuaded Lord Dalhousie to get up a society with "similar title and objects in Quebec. This was done; Chief Justice Sewell, (a slight "error, as we shall see hereafter, became the first President, and Mr. Green, the "Secretary. The society was in the first instance composed of high officials and "courtiers, and the fee was fixed at a high rate, for some end which can only be "guessed at."

"For the reasons Mr. Sheppard stated, the *Gazette* is silent as to the young association, but the *Mercury* even then commenced to yield it that firm support from which it has never wavered. Though Dr Fisher may have given a name and form to the society, the idea seemed to have originated with Lord Dalhousie himself; for as A. Stuart, Esq., the President for 1838, states in his obituary notice of the noble founder, &c."

Jusqu'alors les membres s'étaient principalement occupés d'encourager l'étude des sciences naturelles et physiques, réservant pour des temps meilleurs la réalisation du but principal que les fondateurs avaient en vue, l'encouragement des recherches historiques, la réunion et la publication des annales du pays. On avait aussi négligé la bibliothèque, qui contenait à peine, en 1834, 360 volumes, † dont la plupart étaient des traités scientifiques; quelques volumes seulement concernaient l'histoire de l'Amérique. Était-ce les moyens pécuniaires qui manquaient ou la difficulté de se procurer les matériaux nécessaires? Peut-être ces deux causes réunies.

Heureusement, la législature, avec une libéralité digne d'éloge, vint en aide à la société, en mettant (1832) à sa disposition la somme de £300. On s'adressa aussitôt en Angleterre et en France pour se procurer des manuscrits relatifs à notre histoire. Ces premières tentatives ne furent pas couronnées de succès. En attendant, la société faisait acheter à Londres et à Paris, par l'Hon. M. Cochran et par l'abbé J. Holmes, une collection d'ouvrages et de cartes sur l'Amérique. Puis elle mettait sous presse un document communiqué par le colonel Christie, intitulé: *Mémoire sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'en 1760*. § Ce volume, publié en 1838, fournit aux historiens des renseignements intéressants et peu connus sur cette époque.

La société réussit à se procurer en France des manuscrits, dont quelques-uns ont été publiés et forment la matière d'un 2^e volume imprimé en 1840. Les trois premiers mémoires de ce volume faisaient partie des manuscrits que Lord Durham avait fait copier à Versailles dans une courte visite avant son départ pour le Canada. Comme ses

† Il est vrai que la *Bibliothèque de Québec*, composée de plusieurs mille volumes, suppléait à cette lacune.

§ L'introduction de ce volume donne à entendre que l'auteur de ce mémoire est M. de Vaublanc, officier de marine.

prédécesseurs, Lord Durham fut un bienfaiteur de notre société, il lui fit un cadeau de 94 volumes de classiques grecs et latins, édition de luxe. Les autres mémoires, au nombre de cinq, étaient des manuscrits fournis par l'abbé Jean Holmes.

Dans un voyage qu'il fit en Europe en 1836, M. Holmes rendit à l'association des services signalés. Il établit des relations entre elle et les sociétés savantes du vieux continent par l'échange de leurs publications respectives. Il fit des recherches historiques et acheta des ouvrages rares et précieux. Ayant eu accès aux archives de la Bibliothèque Royale, il réussit à se procurer une série de manuscrits, parmi lesquels notre société choisit les cinq documents qui terminent le 2^e volume des mémoires. M. Holmes compte parmi les membres les plus actifs de la société; il fut président de la classe des arts, et fit longtemps partie du comité des documents historiques.

Mentionnons en passant que plusieurs autres membres distingués du clergé catholique, Mgr Signaï, Mgr Cazeau et M. Demers, entre autres, firent longtemps partie de la Société Littéraire.

Cependant la société continuait sa noble mission en réimprimant des ouvrages devenus très rares. Un troisième volume, publié en 1843, contient les trois *Voyages de Jacques Cartier au Canada*, le *Routier de Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge*, le *Voyage du Sieur de Roberval* et les *Lettres de Jacques Noël*.

De pareils travaux épuisèrent la première allocation de £300. On demanda alors une nouvelle aide. Nos législateurs voyant l'importance que prenait la société et les services qu'elle rendait aux lettres et à l'histoire, n'hésitèrent pas à lui voter une autre somme de £300 (1846), tout en lui continuant l'allocation annuelle de £50.

Dans le même temps, nos voisins des Etats-Unis faisaient eux aussi de grands efforts pour se procurer les matériaux épars de leur histoire. La législature de l'Etat de New-York prit l'initiative, et grâce à l'entremise du ministre des Etats-Unis à Paris, libre accès fut donné à son agent, M. Brodhead, aux archives de Londres, de Paris et de la Hollande. Quatre-vingts volumes de manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de cet état furent ainsi copiés. La législature décida de les faire imprimer *in extenso*, et même de faire traduire les documents français concernant l'histoire du Canada, et le résultat a été 10 volumes in-4to, collection précieuse pour l'histoire de l'Amérique.

Une partie de ces documents, la correspondance officielle des gouverneurs du Canada, (1631-1763) avait été tirée des archives de Paris. La Société Littéraire décida de les faire copier, et se procura ainsi 17 volumes de manuscrits qui comprennent la première série. †

Parmi les papiers tirés des archives de Londres, une partie concernait également le Canada. La société fit faire un choix de ces pièces, * qui forment les 6 volumes de la 2e série de nos manuscrits, et qui est intitulée: *Documents on Colonial History, London Archives*. Vers le même temps, le gouvernement canadien chargea l'Hon. L. J. Papineau, alors en Europe, de faire copier des manuscrits historiques, qui ont été déposés partie à la Bibliothèque du Parlement et partie à la Société Historique. Cette dernière série comprend les documents suivants:

Relations du Canada depuis 1682, 1 Vol.

Autre Relation du Canada, 1695-96, 1 vol.

† La Société chargea (1845) M. Farihault d'aller à Albany s'entendre avec les autorités de l'Etat de New-York. Ce fut M. Félix Glackmeyer qui copia les 17 volumes.

Chacun de ces volumes de manuscrits contient un index ou résumé de chaque pièce. M. Gérin-Lajoie a eu la bonne idée de publier ces index dans le catalogue des ouvrages sur l'Amérique de la Bibliothèque du Parlement, publiés en 1858.

Cinq ou six autres volumes de la même collection ont été consumés dans l'incendie du Parlement à Montréal en 1849.

* L'Hon. M. Cochrane fut chargé de faire ce choix.

Voyage fait au Mississippi par d'Iberville et de Surgères, 1 vol.

Histoire du Montréal, attribuée à M. Dollier Casson, 1 vol.

Un cinquième volume contient diverses relations sur le siège de Québec en 1759 et sur la guerre de l'Indépendance. Ils ont été presque tous imprimés, ainsi que l'Histoire du Montréal.

Parmi les autres volumes de manuscrits collationnés par la société à différentes époques, se trouvent les suivants :

Census Roll of 1765, 1 vol, in-folio.

Cahiers d'Intendance, 1 vol. in-folio.

Registre des Arrêts et Déclarations, 2 vols in-folio.

Procédures Judiciaires, Matières de Police, etc., 10 vols.

Tels sont les services que nos prédécesseurs rendirent alors à l'histoire du Canada par la publication de tant de mémoires précieux et par la réunion de tant de pièces manuscrites. Jusqu'alors on s'était peu occupé de cette œuvre. Aussi que de pièces dont on a constaté la disparition, soit par la négligence, soit par les incendies ou la vétusté ! C'était donc une tâche patriotique que de mettre à la disposition de nos historiens tant de documents originaux qui comblent les lacunes de notre histoire, que de répandre le goût des recherches, que de faire connaître enfin la beauté de ces annales du passé, où les auteurs vont puiser ces détails intimes qui ajoutent tant de charmes à leurs récits. Aussi ces travaux ont-ils été justement appréciés du public canadien et même à l'étranger.

Soyons juste en déclarant que le mérite de ces publications revenait surtout à un membre dont le nom est resté célèbre et vénéré dans les annales de la Société Historique. J'ai nommé M. G. B. Faribault. § Pénétré des idées des

§ Né à Québec en 1789, M. Faribault fut admis au barreau en 1811. Il servit dans la guerre de 1812, et quelques années plus tard, il fut nommé à un emploi de l'Assemblée Législative, passant par les charges d'écrivain, de traducteur et de greffier assistant. M. Faribault mourut en 1866, ne laissant pour tout écrit que le *Catalogue raisonné d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique*.

fondateurs, ce canadien érudit ne recula devant aucun sacrifice pour les mettre à exécution. Ce fut lui qui dirigea l'impression des premiers volumes des mémoires; il traduisit le troisième voyage de Jacques Cartier d'après la relation d'Hackluyt, et fournit plusieurs manuscrits. Enfin il n'épargna rien pour réunir les manuscrits et les ouvrages relatifs à notre histoire, sachant que ces documents sont difficiles à rassembler et qu'ils peuvent être perdus d'un moment à l'autre. M. Faribault est certainement le membre qui a le plus contribué à l'avancement de la *Société Littéraire et Historique*. Aussi a-t-on su reconnaître les services de ce savant en lui conférant six fois les honneurs de la présidence. On a voulu vénérer sa mémoire en plaçant dans nos salles son portrait à l'huile peint par notre artiste canadien, M. T. Hamel.

En dehors de notre société, quels services M. Faribault n'a-t-il pas rendus en réunissant cette belle collection d'ouvrages sur l'Amérique déposée à la Bibliothèque du Parlement, et qu'il vit malheureusement périr dans l'incendie de 1849. En 1851-52, le gouvernement le chargea d'aller en Europe pour refaire cette collection. Il profita de cette occasion pour faire copier 24 volumes de manuscrits qui renferment la correspondance officielle des gouverneurs français, la suite des 17 volumes de la Société Historique.

Sa collection privée de manuscrits et d'ouvrages historiques était précieuse, et à sa mort, qui arriva en 1866, il la légua à l'Université Laval.

Malgré les travaux importants déjà énumérés, les progrès de la société s'étaient bien ralentis. Les malheureux événements de 1837-38 avaient amené cet état de décadence qui s'accrut encore par le transfert du siège du gouvernement à Kingston d'abord, ensuite à Montréal. Quelques membres se retirèrent, et par là les revenus furent diminués. Ensuite la formation de plusieurs sociétés, entre

autres le *Quebec Library Association* et l'*Institut Canadien* divisèrent encore les talents et les ressources. Il n'y avait en 1847 que trente-quatre membres souscripteurs, et trois ans plus tard quatorze membres seulement payèrent leur souscription. * Les concours de littérature n'étaient plus encouragés faute de concurrents, † et après plusieurs essais infructueux ils furent abandonnés (vers 1856). En outre, les conférences n'étaient pas aussi fréquentes que par le passé; c'est à peine si de 1837 à 1855 la société put former un volume de ses *Transactions*; c'est le quatrième de la première série, qui contient des conférences ou essais lus par l'Hon. M. Cochran, le capt. Baddely, le lieut. E. D. Ashe, MM. Fletcher, Robertson, Davies, Roche et Bowen. Ces littérateurs étaient, avec l'Hon. M. Sheppard, M. Faribault, le Dr Fisher et MM. F. X. Garneau, David Roy, E. A. Meredith et le lieut. Noble, les principaux soutiens de la société. §

Cependant il y avait à cette époque un mouvement littéraire plus prononcé. L'amour des lettres était plus général et les autres sociétés littéraires étaient dans un état prospère. Dans la littérature du pays se distinguaient une phalange d'écrivains sérieux: MM. Christie, Garneau, Parent, Chauveau et Crémazie entre autres, qui ont produit des œuvres du plus grand mérite. Puis on vit M. Huston réunir dans le *Répertoire National* les premiers essais de la littérature française.

* To so low an ebb did affairs at last sink, that subscriptions were received in 1850 from only 14 members, and more than once only two papers are reported as read during the session. (*M. Douglass*, *Transactions*, No. 4 N.S., 1852).

† "For the prizes offered by the society there have been few competitors. In the department of science and art a silver medal has been adjudged to Mr. Walker for an essay upon architecture; but it is to be regretted that so much apathy exists as to compel your Council to the reluctant avowal that no one essay upon the aboriginal history of Canada, no poetical effort, no work of literature have been sent to for competition."—(*Report of the Council*, 1855).

§ M. Garneau fut secrétaire correspondant en 1853, et fit aussi partie du comité des documents historiques. L'Hon. E. R. Caron fut vice-président en 1857. Un autre membre, l'Hon. M. David Roy, rendit des services importants comme secrétaire et curateur du musée.

Grâce au retour à Québec des employés du gouvernement, en 1852, la Société Littéraire et Historique reçut des secours qui lui redonnèrent quelque vigueur. Notons maintenant les augmentations faites à sa bibliothèque et à son musée.

Depuis quelques années la bibliothèque avait été considérablement accrue. En 1853, elle était de 4,000 volumes, d'après le rapport du bibliothécaire. C'était alors une des plus précieuses de la province pour ce qui se rattachait aux sciences et à l'histoire de l'Amérique.

Le musée avait été enrichi de la collection zoologique de M. Chasseur, que la Législature avait acquise et mise sous la garde de la société; d'une collection de tableaux et de portraits; * du canon de bronze que M. Berthelot prétendait appartenir à Verrazzani; d'une collection de plantes sèches, don du Dr Osborne. Ce musée, alors le plus important de l'Amérique, faisait grand honneur à Québec. On y voyait des échantillons de presque toutes les productions naturelles du Canada, des collections de médailles et de monnaie, une collection d'oiseaux de l'Amérique, la plus belle de ce continent.

La société était parvenue à cet état de prospérité lorsque, le 1er février 1854, l'incendie des bâtisses du Parlement, où elle avait ses salles, vint lui porter un coup fatal. † Dans un

* *Le Picture of Quebec* de 1831 et de 1844 contient la liste des tableaux. Une collection de conchybiologie avait été donnée par Lord Durham.

† "The report of the Council of 1854 says: Nearly the whole of its well selected and very extensive museum of natural history and mineralogy, the fruit of the labor and expenditure of many years, embracing a *unique* collection of American birds, and specimens of almost all the natural productions of the country, as well as many antiquarian objects of interest perished in the flames. Through the praise-worthy exertion of some of the members of the society, a large portion of our library, and almost the whole of our valuable manuscript, relating to the early history of the country were rescued from destruction; but a serious inroad was notwithstanding made upon our library shelves, and many valuable lots of books have been rendered comparatively useless by the loss of one or more volumes from among them. The pecuniary loss which the society sustained on that occasion have been estimated at about £1,400; but many of the most interesting objects which were destroyed in the museum are such as cannot be replaced."

The Council desire to take this opportunity to state that with very few exceptions the communications read before the society for some years past, many of which would have found a worthy place in the society's transactions, were destroyed in the society's room, at the Parliament Buildings."

instant elle vit périr son musée d'histoire naturelle et de peinture et une partie de sa bibliothèque, perte regrettable qui anéantissait en grande partie les travaux des trente années de son existence. Par bonheur, la collection des manuscrits fut sauvée, ainsi qu'un certain nombre de volumes, de médailles et quelques instruments. Il est plus que probable que les registres de notre société devinrent la proie des flammes, car ils ne se retrouvent plus aujourd'hui.

Les membres ne se laissèrent pas décourager par ce désastre; pendant quelque temps ils redoublèrent d'activité, afin de relever cette institution. La législature ayant accordé une allocation de \$1000, on prit les moyens d'augmenter la bibliothèque et de réorganiser le musée. Le nombre des membres s'accrut sensiblement; même il fut question de bâtir un édifice pour la société, et l'on demanda un terrain aux autorités militaires, démarche qui n'eut pas de succès.

Vers la même époque, la société conclut un arrangement pour publier, dans le *Canadian Journal* de Toronto, les procès-verbaux des assemblées mensuelles. Cette revue, imprimée sous les auspices du *Canadian Institute*, contient plusieurs articles sur notre société, (1854-55.)

Ce progrès fut de peu de durée, le changement de la capitale et l'exiguité du local * diminuèrent le nombre des membres. Il ne resta plus que quelques amis fidèles, MM. Faribault, W. Andrew et Meredith, ses présidents, le Com. Ashe, MM. Langton, Fletcher et Russell. Seuls ces amis des sciences persistèrent dans leurs efforts, et ce fut grâce à leur patriotisme si notre société ne succomba pas. A plusieurs reprises ils réclamèrent pour elle les mêmes faveurs que l'état accordait aux autres institutions du même genre.

* Après l'incendie la Société Historique loua des salles dans la bâtisse de M. Henderson, rue St-Louis.

Enfin, gagnés par des demandes si justes, nos législateurs accordèrent, en 1860, un octroi de \$1,000, qui fut continué les deux années suivantes, et réduit ensuite à \$750.

Cette allocation et le retour des employés du gouvernement à Québec firent sortir la Société Littéraire et Historique de son état de langueur, après plusieurs années de dépérissement. Elle reprit les publications historiques en donnant (1861) le Mémoire de sieur de Ramsay au sujet de la reddition de Québec. † Les conférences interrompues depuis quelque temps furent reprises, et fournirent la matière au 5e volume de ses Transactions. Ce volume contient des travaux du commandant Ashe, de MM. Meredith, Langton et Douglass, et se termine par de nouveaux documents sur les voyages et la vie de Jacques Cartier.

Depuis 1859, la Société Littéraire s'était procuré un logement plus convenable dans la bâtisse de la Banque d'Epargnes sur la rue St-Jean. Là elle avait pu composer une bonne bibliothèque de 2,500 volumes et un musée d'histoire naturelle, ‡ et était parvenue à un certain degré de prospérité, grâce surtout au zèle de deux présidents, hommes dévoués au progrès littéraire, MM. Meredith et Langton, qui ont en outre enrichi nos annales d'intéressantes conférences. Le 25 octobre 1862, un nouveau malheur vint fondre sur elle, un incendie détruisit une deuxième fois le musée et une partie de la bibliothèque. Cette fois encore, on eut le bonheur de sauver les manuscrits avec les documents importants sur l'histoire d'Angleterre. § Et comme les pertes de la société étaient en partie couvertes

† La publication de ce mémoire est due à M. Faribault, d'après le rapport du Conseil de 1860. M. Faribault s'était procuré de St-Malo ces documents d'une grande valeur.

‡ Il fut même question en 1862 de publier une Revue Littéraire et Scientifique, (*Quarterly Review*), et le conseil fut autorisé à la commencer, lorsque l'incendie arriva. La société occupait les salles du 3e et du 4e étages.

§ Les registres portent le montant des pertes à \$3,554. Le président, M. Langton, et le professeur Douglass se rendirent aux Etats-Unis pour acheter des livres.

par une assurance de \$3,000, on employa cette somme à l'achat de nouveaux ouvrages, et l'on commença un nouveau musée.

Cette dernière épreuve donna l'occasion d'unir deux institutions par des liens intimes. Le Collège Morrin, dû à la munificence du Dr Morrin, venait d'être inauguré (Nov. 1862) dans les salles du *Masonic Hall*. Un arrangement fut conclu par lequel le collège donna à la société des salles dans cet édifice, moyennant l'accès à la bibliothèque et au musée pour ses directeurs, professeurs et élèves, et l'achat au montant de £30 par an de livres de leur choix, qui doivent rester au collège en cas de séparation. Jusqu'à ce jour la meilleure entente a existé entre les deux institutions, et chacune, tout en gardant sa parfaite indépendance, a retiré de cette union des avantages précieux.

En 1863, la Société Littéraire et Historique commença la publication d'une nouvelle série de ses *Transactions*, et presque à chaque année depuis cette date, elle a donné une livraison contenant les principaux essais lus devant ses membres. La bibliothèque qui après l'incendie contenait 1,100 volumes, la plupart endommagés, était portée à 8,500 volumes en 1866, par des achats et par l'acquisition de la *Bibliothèque de l'Association de Québec*. Pour la modique somme de \$500 on eut cette bibliothèque précieuse, en grande partie composée des livres de l'ancienne *Bibliothèque de Québec*, fondée en 1779.

Depuis quelques années une ère de prospérité s'est ouverte pour la Société Littéraire et Historique. Le Collège Morrin ayant laissé, en 1866, le *Masonic Hall* pour occuper l'ancienne Prison, offrit à la société ce local spacieux et

* "The library is estimated to have contained 2,350 volumes. There are about 675 remaining perfect and 150 more damaged."—(*Minute book*.)

"Your curator regrets being obliged to report the total destruction of your entire collection of objects of natural history, archeology. The loss is the more to be regretted in that a successful effort was being made to replenish the natural history department."—(*Report of the Council*, 1862).

commode qu'elle a occupé jusqu'à ce jour. Cette même année un des présidents les plus estimés, le commandant Ashe, félicita la société en ces termes de son état prospère: "Never since its foundation we had so many members, nor were the funds ever in better condition." Le commandant Ashe devait en effet en être heureux, car il pouvait se dire qu'il avait une bonne part dans ce progrès.

La société devait encore ses succès aux travaux et au zèle de M. Langton, du professeur James Douglass, du Dr W. J. Anderson et de M. James LeMoine, qui furent des présidents dévoués au développement de la littérature. Nous pouvons leur ajouter plusieurs autres membres, qui par leurs conférences ont donné de l'éclat à la société, je nommerai l'Hon. M. Chauveau,* le Dr Miles, l'évêque anglican Williams, l'Hon. M. Fabre, MM. Fletcher, R. S. M. Bouchette, Faucher de St-Maurice, dont les travaux pour la plupart se trouvent dans les *Transactions*.

Depuis quelques temps la littérature avait fait des progrès étonnants. Une phalange de jeunes littérateurs lui avaient donné un essor nouveau, par la publication de nombreux ouvrages historiques, littéraires et scientifiques. Avec l'aide des anciens écrivains ils ont fourni la matière des différents recueils qui ont enrichi notre littérature de tant de volumes. Que d'essais charmants, que d'études sérieuses ne contiennent pas les *Soirées Canadiennes*, le *Foyer Canadien*, le *Canadian Monthly*, *L'Opinion Publique*, le *Canadian Illustrated News*, *La Revue Canadienne*, &c., &c.

Avouons que les annales et les mémoires de notre société ont aussi contribué pour une bonne part à l'œuvre de la littérature nationale. Ces travaux sont bien son plus beau

* L'Hon. M. Chauveau fut président en 1868. M. Fabre, vice-président en 1866, lut devant la société une étude littéraire, publiée dans les *Transactions*, 1866.

M. LeMoine publia aussi dans les *Transactions* plusieurs écrits, entre autres une étude française sur l'histoire de la littérature.

titre de gloire, c'est par eux que nous constatons les services rendus aux sciences et aux lettres.

La seconde série de ces publications, commencée depuis 1864, n'est pas moins importante que la première. Il s'est encore trouvé des hommes assez dévoués pour consacrer leur temps à la publication de ces mémoires, et continuer l'œuvre si bien commencée par les Faribault et les Holmes, Soyons justes en donnant à M. J. M. LeMoine la plus grande part du mérite dans ces travaux. En effet, il a surveillé la publication de presque tous les documents qui forment la deuxième, la troisième et la quatrième série des *Mémoires*, pièces de la plus haute importance, surtout pour l'histoire des guerres de la conquête et de l'Indépendance Américaine. Si je ne craignais de blesser sa modestie je vous dirais combien M. LeMoine a travaillé à mettre plus d'union entre les deux populations, combien il a réussi à faire connaître notre histoire à la race anglaise. A part cela, quelle attention n'a-t-il pas portée au musée dont il a été le conservateur pendant tant d'années ?

Disons quelques mots maintenant de ce musée déjà remarquable par quelques parties. On y voit d'abord une belle collection des oiseaux et des œufs du Canada et quelques espèces étrangères.* Pour cette collection, on avait obtenu les services d'un taxidermiste, M. Wm. Cooper, de Toronto. L'exiguïté du local n'a permis jusqu'à présent d'avoir que les mammifères les plus petits; ils sont cependant assez nombreux. On remarque quelques poissons, des échantillons de bois canadiens et de quelques bois étrangers, une collection de minéraux.

Le musée archéologique et numismatique est digne de notre attention. On éprouve un sensible plaisir à examiner

* "Our collection of birds and animals now comprises nearly the two-thirds of our fauna, and the birds and eggs, contributed by gift and purchase form a most valuable collection."—*Report of the Curator*, 1875.

ces précieuses reliques, ces objets qui rappellent les meilleurs souvenirs.

Sans les malheureux incendies dont nous avons déjà parlé, † notre musée serait un des plus riches et des plus intéressants de l'Amérique; cependant, si l'on considère, qu'il n'a fallu que quinze années pour le former tel que nous le voyons aujourd'hui, nous pouvons espérer qu'avec le temps il pourra être augmenté de manière à en faire au moins un musée national, contenant des collections complètes de nos produits naturels, des antiquités canadiennes, &c. Le musée, voyez-vous, c'est le complément de toute institution sérieuse, et je n'ai aucun doute que nous suivrons en cela l'exemple de la plupart des sociétés savantes des autres pays, qui ont formé des musées magnifiques.

Un autre membre dévoué au succès de la société fut le Dr W. J. Anderson, à qui la société a confié trois fois les honneurs de la présidence. Le Dr Anderson, qui s'était épris de notre histoire, nous a laissé plusieurs études intéressantes publiées dans les *Transactions* et un volume intitulé: *The Life of Duke of Kent*. Il obtint encore, des archives de Londres, *Le Journal de James Murray*, publié dans les mémoires. En juin 1873, notre société eut la douleur de le perdre. Le commandant Ashe le remplaça comme président le reste de l'année. ‡

La société confia alors la présidence une deuxième et troisième fois au professeur Douglass, qui la conserva jusqu'à son départ pour les Etats-Unis, à la fin de 1875. M. Dou-

† La collection numismatique, précieuse par ses médailles des Etats-Unis et du Canada, est due à plusieurs bienfaiteurs; entre autres au Dr Marsden, Mme Gibb, M. Cyrille Tessier et M. Sandham. La liste des médailles ainsi que celle des bois canadiens, est publiée dans le rapport du conseil de 1871. Une collection de bois fut donnée par le gouvernement et une autre par le Dr Miles. Mme Gibb donna une collection de médailles et d'objets d'art et trente oiseaux.

‡ Ce fut sous la présidence de M. Anderson que fut imprimé (1873) le catalogue de la bibliothèque; il y avait alors 8,477 volumes.

En 1875 on ré-imprima le *Mémoire sur le Canada*, 1749-1760, publié en 1838 et devenu très rare; aussi, les mémoires de la 4e série.

glass avait bien mérité cet honneur par le zèle infatigable qu'il n'avait cessé de déployer, et il laissa en partant les plus agréables souvenirs.

Cette même année, 1875, restera célèbre dans les annales de la Société Littéraire et Historique. On sait avec quel éclat fut célébré le 100^e anniversaire de l'assaut de Québec par les Américains, le 30 décembre 1775, fête dont vous, M. le Président, avez si bien fait les frais avec l'aide du colonel Strange et de M. LeMoine. Tous se rappellent encore cette belle démonstration continuée par notre société sœur, *l'Institut Canadien*, et si bien couronnée à la citadelle par le digne commandant de la garnison.

Permettez-moi, M. le Président, de n'ajouter qu'un mot sur les deux années que notre société a passées sous votre présidence. Votre zèle, votre amour pour les lettres vous désignait d'avance à cette charge; et comme quelques-uns de vos prédécesseurs, vous avez voulu laisser des marques de votre passage en publiant un volume de documents sur la guerre de 1812, le 5^e volume des mémoires historiques. Avec l'aide de plusieurs officiers, vous avez conduit notre institution de progrès en progrès, si bien qu'elle occupe le premier rang parmi les sociétés littéraires du Canada.

Nous avons déjà parlé de l'augmentation et de l'importance de notre musée. Ajoutons maintenant quelques mots sur la bibliothèque, remarquable non seulement par ses 9,000 volumes, mais aussi par le choix et la rareté de quelques collections. Elle répond parfaitement aux besoins d'une société savante. Et quels avantages ne procure pas une bibliothèque de ce genre lorsqu'elle est bien choisie. C'est un foyer de lumières où les générations viendront tour à tour puiser les sciences, les spécialistes acquérir les connaissances nécessaires à leurs travaux.

Nous pouvons surtout admirer la partie de l'histoire naturelle et des sciences physiques qui comprend des ouvrages

d'un haut prix. La philosophie, la théologie et l'histoire sont également bien représentées. On y voit encore en grand nombre les classiques français, anglais et latins.

La bibliothèque n'est rien si l'on omet la collection d'ouvrages sur l'Amérique. Combien de volumes et de brochures rares, combien de précieux bouquins qui ne se rencontrent que dans quelques bibliothèques. A mon avis, cette collection devrait être complétée à tout prix. On devrait y trouver toutes nos œuvres littéraires, des séries complètes de nos feuilles périodiques, de la *Gazette de Québec*, du *Canadien*, du *Mercury*, tous nos documents parlementaires, si importants pour l'étude de notre histoire contemporaine. Déjà beaucoup de ces documents sont devenus rares.

Ce récit historique nous donne une idée assez juste, je crois, des biens opérés par notre institution. Il ne faut pas oublier que sans l'encouragement libéral de la législature, le zèle seul d'hommes dévoués aurait été impuissant à faire d'aussi grandes choses, à obtenir d'aussi grands succès. Nos hommes d'état peuvent donc constater avec quelle sagesse l'argent public a été employé. Espérons qu'ils comprendront l'importance de continuer à notre société les faveurs de l'état dans l'intérêt des lettres et des sciences.

Oui, messieurs, nous pouvons montrer avec orgueil notre belle bibliothèque, nos collections de manuscrits, nos salles de lecture où l'on trouve des revues de tous genres, notre musée riche en collections d'antiquités et par sa faune canadienne. Nous pouvons être fiers de nos publications, qui consistent déjà en huit volumes de *Mémoires* et en dix volumes de *Transactions* contenant les essais et conférences. Cependant, je dois le constater, notre société est susceptible de plus grands succès. Je n'aime pas une institution qui ne progresse pas autant qu'il lui est possible de le faire. Ne négligeons rien pour augmenter notre bibliothèque,

surtout la partie de l'histoire de l'Amérique, complétons également dans nos musées les collections canadiennes.

Nous devons aussi poursuivre avec plus d'ardeur que jamais l'impression des manuscrits historiques, publications qui font aujourd'hui la gloire de notre institution. Ne serait-il pas temps d'entreprendre l'impression complète de la correspondance officielle du gouvernement français, que l'Etat de New-York a trouvé si importante qu'il l'a fait traduire en anglais et imprimer *in extenso*. Il serait aussi désirable de fonder, comme autrefois, des concours littéraires, encourager la poésie, l'éloquence, les beaux-arts. Voici ce qui nous reste à faire. Nous avons tous intérêt à augmenter la prospérité de notre société. Pour atteindre ce but, nous avons besoin du concours de tous. Le clergé nous offrira son patronage; nos littérateurs donneront le concours de leur plume; nos riches citadins, nos hommes de professions, nos industriels, procureront par leurs souscriptions les ressources nécessaires.

Le temps est bientôt arrivé, temps prévu par nos prédécesseurs, où l'on fera appel à la générosité du public. Déjà notre société est trop à l'étroit dans ces salles, il n'y a plus d'espace pour la bibliothèque et le musée. Elle devra sous peu de temps se procurer un autre local. L'Institut Canadien de cette ville se trouve dans les mêmes embarras et cherche lui aussi les moyens de s'agrandir. Permettez-moi, messieurs, de vous suggérer une idée que j'ai exposée à plusieurs membres de la Société Littéraire et Historique et de l'Institut Canadien; celle de demander au gouvernement pour chaque société un terrain sur le magnifique emplacement des Jésuites. Ce terrain obtenu, peut-être y aurait-il moyen de s'entendre pour bâtir chacun un édifice sur un même plan, bien qu'entièrement séparé. On élèverait ainsi, à bien moins de frais, un édifice digne des lettres, sur cette terre classique, consacrée autrefois à l'éducation.

Pourquoi ne mettrions-nous pas plus d'intimité entre les deux institutions en permettant encore aux membres l'accès libre aux deux bibliothèques et aux salles de lecture, et ce faisant de tout un étage une grande salle, qui serait à l'usage de l'une et de l'autre société pour les réunions extraordinaires ?

Ajoutons en terminant que notre société est une institution tout à fait nationale. C'est un de ces rares endroits où l'on peut se rencontrer sur un terrain neutre, celui des sciences et des lettres, où les dissensions politiques n'entrent pas. C'est un des endroits presque uniques, où la population anglaise et la population française peuvent se connaître plus intimement, avoir des rapports qui tournent à leur bien commun. Eh ! n'y gagnons-nous pas toujours à nous visiter plus souvent, à faire disparaître par là les quelques préjugés qui peuvent exister encore entre nos deux populations.

Je regrette, messieurs, de voir au nombre des membres si peu de mes compatriotes. C'est à peine si l'on en compte cinquante. Il est vrai qu'ils ont *l'Institut Canadien*, qui progresse aujourd'hui rapidement, et qui fait à notre société une concurrence toute pacifique. Mais, combien de personnes riches, combien de littérateurs, d'amis des sciences pourraient appartenir aux deux institutions et en retirer des bénéfices considérables.

Nos concitoyens d'origine anglaise n'auraient aucune objection, je l'espère du moins, à voir augmenter le nombre des membres Canadiens-français. Bien loin d'être étrangers dans cette société ils y ont des droits acquis; plusieurs de leurs compatriotes—les Faribault, les Bouchette, les Garneau, les Chauveau, les LeMoine, pour ne nommer que ceux-là—ont contribué pour une large part à l'avancement de notre institution. D'ailleurs, il n'y a pas trop du concours des savants et des ressources des deux populations pour le développement et le succès de la société.

MÉMOIRES

DE LA

SOCIÉTÉ LITTÉRAIRE ET HISTORIQUE DE QUÉBEC.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE

1. Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. VII et 211 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1838. Ré-imprimé en 1876.

Ce mémoire a pour deuxième titre: "Mémoire du S——de C——, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." Il fut communiqué à la Société Littéraire et Historique par M. le colonel Christie. L'introduction donne à entendre que l'auteur du manuscrit pourrait être M. De Vaulain, officier de marine en 1759.

2. Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics, en France. (8 mémoires reliés en 1 vol.) in-8, *Québec*, 1840.

1. Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon. 7 p.
2. Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart. 14 p.
3. Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758). 29 p.
4. Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont. 36 p.
5. Relation du Siège de Québec en 1859, par une religieuse de l'Hôpital-Générale de Québec. 24 p.
6. Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne en Canada en 1759. 8 p.
7. Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada. 8 p.
8. Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada. 29 p.

3. Voyages de découverte au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, &c. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608. et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques Cartier en 1535-36 (avec gravures *fac-simile*). Réimprimés sur d'anciennes relations. 130 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1843.

4. Mémoire du Sieur de Ramsay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville le 18 septembre

1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives du bureau de la marine, à Paris. 84 et 38 p. in-8, Québec, 1861. (Dû à M. Faribault.)

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 2nd Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., viz.:

Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec, in 1759, kept by colonel Malcolm Fraser. . . . , 37 p. in-8.

Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par M. Jean-Claude Panet. 24 p. in-8, Montréal, 1866.

The campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58. . . . , attributed to Chevalier Johnstone. 28 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1867.

A dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759 in Canada. 55 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866. Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The campaign of 1760 in Canada. 24 p., 8-vo. A narrative attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The invasion of Canada in 1775. Letter attributed to major Henry Caldwell. 19 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence. . . . , republished from the *New York Mercury* of 31st December, 1759. 19 p., 8-vo.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 3rd Series. Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society. 1 vol., 8-vo., Quebec and Montreal, 1871. Contents:

Histoire du Montréal, 1640-1672. 128 p., 8-vo. Ouvrage attribué à M. F. Dollier de Casson, S.S.

Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine, lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-76, par M. J. B. Badeaux. 43 p. in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant des anglais que des iroquois, depuis l'année 1682. 82 p. in-8, Québec, 1871.

Voyage d'Iberville. Journal du voyage fait par deux frégates du roi, la *Badine* et le *Marin*, 1698. 48 p. in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Journal of the siege of Quebec, 1759-60, by general Jas. Murray. 45 p. in-8, Quebec, 1871.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 4th Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., 1875.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence (1759). 21 p.

General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 56 p.

Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par Jean Claude Panet. 31 p.

Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Finlay, 25 p.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 5th Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., 152 p., Quebec, 1877. Containing documents relating to the war of 1812.

APPENDICE.

PRÉSIDENTS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ LITTÉRAIRE ET HISTORIQUE.

1824.....	Sir F. N. Burton, Lt.-Gouv.*
1828.....	Hon. M. Reid, juge-en-chef.
1829.....	Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N.
1830.....	Hon. Jonathan Sewell, juge en chef.
1831.....	“ “ “ “
1832.....	Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
1834.....	Hon. Wm Sheppard.
1835.....	Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836.....	Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
1837.....	Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
1838.....	“ “ “ “
1839.....	Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
1840.....	“ “ “ “
1841.....	Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1842.....	Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1843.....	Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1844.....	G. B. Faribault, Ecr.
1845.....	Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846.....	John C. Fisher, Ecr.
1847.....	Hon. W. Sheppard.
1851.....	G. B. Faribault, Ecr.
1852.....	“ “ “
1853.....	“ “ “
1854.....	“ “ “
1855.....	E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1856.....	W. Andrew, Ecr.
1857.....	“ “ “
1858.....	G. B. Faribault, Ecr.
• 1859.....	“ “ “
1860.....	E. A. Meredith, M.A.
1861.....	“ “ “

* Malgré toutes les recherches que nous avons pu faire, il nous a été impossible de donner une liste plus complète que celle-ci des présidents de la société.

1862.	.....	John Langton, M.A.
1863.	.....	“ “ “
1864.	.....	“ “ “
1865.	.....	“ “ “
1866.	.....	Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N., F.R.S.
1867.	.....	“ “ “ “ “ “
1868.	.....	Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau.
1869.	.....	Prof. James Douglas.
1870.	.....	Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.	.....	J. M. LeMoine, Ecr.
1872-3.	.....	Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.	.....	Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N., F.R.S.
1874.	.....	Prof. James Douglas.
1875.	.....	“ “ “
1876.	.....	James Stevenson, Ecr.
1877.	.....	“ “ “
1878.	.....	“ “ “

REPORT OF THE

Delegates sent to Ottawa Literary Convention.

24TH OCTOBER, 1877.

The undersigned, in conformity with the request of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, attended the celebration held in the City of Ottawa, on the 24th, to inaugurate by speeches, music and a dramatic *soirée* the opening of the new Institute of Ottawa; the next day they took part in the proceedings held there by the Literary Convention organized under the auspices of the *Institut Canadien* of that city, with the object of devising practical means: 1st. For the promotion of Canadian literature; 2nd. For the preservation and publication of Canadian archives; 3rd. For improvements in the Law regulating Copy Rights.

The inauguration of the new *Institut* was attended with much success and great *éclat*, and was honored by the presence of their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Dufferin and suite, Cabinet Ministers, and a brilliant array of the literary talent of the Dominion capital, together with some twenty or thirty delegates from the sister societies of Quebec, Montreal, St. Hyacinthe, &c.

The orator of the evening was the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, one of our former Presidents, who in an eloquent discourse paid a well-merited compliment to the intellectual tastes, enterprise and munificence of the citizens of Ottawa here assembled to witness the opening of a seat of literary advancement, as evinced in this noble structure, in which they then for the first time stood, at a cost of some \$20,000.

The Literary Convention was opened the next day at 10 A.M., the sitting being taken up by well timed addresses from Professor H. Larue, Mr. P. LeMay, Mr. Chauveau and others, varied by familiar remarks from the members as to the most effective means, on behalf of the state and individuals, to foster a national literature; the resolutions adopted are herewith enclosed.

This sitting closed at 12, noon, when the delegates, in a body, waited on His Excellency, at Rideau Hall, by special invitation. His Excellency was full of courtesy and evinced deep interest in the object for which the Convention had assembled.

It may be satisfactory to the Literary and Historical Society to know that its delegates were the recipients of marked civility from His Excellency and Lady Dufferin the next day also. *

The afternoon sitting of the Convention was specially devoted to the important question of the Canadian archives: one of our laborious members, Mr. L. P. Turcotte, read an ably written paper, pointing out the localities where the archives of the Dominion now lie scattered, and in some cases rapidly decaying through dampness, vermin and other causes. Mr. Turcotte dwelt on the necessity of collecting in each Province the various manuscripts and printed matter referring to it, and placing the same in the custody of the Government. His address led to an earnest debate, from which it appeared manifest that the whole question of our archives was immersed in neglect and chaos. Instead of a Public Record Office, such as we find in the Mother country, we have no less than four *Bureaux* in Ottawa containing most important archives. The dele-

* Having been honored by His Excellency to breakfast with him *en famille* at Rideau Hall, together with two other Delegates, Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau and B. Sulte, Esq.

gates failed to ascertain the extent of the archives in each

Still, the undersigned are credibly informed that lacunæ exist in some Church Registers, which might lead to most disastrous results for families: the law requires two copies to be made, one to be kept by the parochial authority, the other, in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court: it is stated that a wide lacuna exists in the Registers of one of the leading Episcopalian Churches of this Province, so that even should the Clerk of the Court in this case possess a complete Register, the status and welfare of thousand of families depend on the safe custody of this copy, and a bitter experience has very recently taught us that Court House Records,*no more than others, enjoy immunity against the fire-fiend.

Rev. Mr. Tanguay's address was clear, concise and practical in its bearing.

During the limited time at their disposal, the undersigned much regret it was impossible to probe to its last recesses the very important question of the archives.

They again urge on the Society the propriety of renewing the representations submitted to Government in 1871, with a view of having a comprehensive legislative measure framed—one to include in its scope all the Provinces of the Dominion.

A resolution was prepared by one of our associate members, Mr. L. P. Turcotte, and Mr. LeMoine was asked to second it. Whilst Mr. LeMoine would have preferred a measure more general than that embodied in Mr. Turcotte's resolution, he readily seconded it, as it affirmed a principle good in itself, but rather limited.

When it is borne in mind, how the priceless Records of our past history lie scattered, some eaten by rust or rats,

* In 1872, the Court House of the District of Quebec, with the greater portion of its records, were consumed by fire.

others mouldering in subterranean vaults, others pitched helter skelter in dark, dusky cupboards in the different cities of Canada, inaccessible to the historian except at considerable expense, the undersigned think that it is high time to press for a State Record Office, under an able and responsible head.

The third subject brought under the notice of the Convention, was some minor changes in our Copyright act, praying that the period of copyright should be extended from 28 years with privilege of 14 additional years, on registering—to a longer period, for the benefit of the widow and heirs—there being a desire to assimilate an act to that of Britain.

In concluding, the undersigned cannot sufficiently testify to the delicate and constant attentions shown them as representing the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and also to the generous and profuse hospitality extended to them on behalf of the members of the *Institut Canadien* of Ottawa: a debt of gratitude in this instance has been contracted by the guests towards the *Institut Canadien*; let us hope, in time, it may be acquitted.

The undersigned have also joined with the delegates of the *Institut Canadien* of Quebec, in taking measures to have the principal addresses delivered at the Convention republished in the *Morning Chronicle* of this city, of the 1st and 2nd November instant.

The whole respectfully submitted.

Quebec. 7th Nov., 1877.

J. M. LEMOINE,

THS. BLAND STRANGE, Lt.-Col. R.A.,

Delegates of the Lit. & Hist. Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OTTAWA LITERARY CONVENTION.
—At the Literary Convention the following resolutions were adopted:—That this Literary Convention is of opinion that the following means would contribute most materially to the extension of education and to the development of Canadian literature:

1st. The establishment of parochial libraries in the localities where they do not exist now, and the establishment of public libraries under the auspices of the municipalities in the different cities and towns of the county.

2nd. The establishment of literary institutions and debating clubs in all the localities where they do not exist now, and which are important enough to maintain them.

3rd. The establishment of a system for a regular course of public lectures in our large cities on the plan inaugurated by the Laval University.

4th. The distribution to our authors of prizes offered to competition by the State, by our most important educational institutions at a fixed period.

5th. The distribution as prizes in our schools of a much larger number of Canadian books of recognized merit, sanctioned by the Board of Public Instruction.

6th. The establishment of a Canadian Book store by a joint stock company with branches in our various cities, in order to promote specially the sale of Canadian books.

Moved by Mr. L. P. Turcotte, and seconded by Mr. J. M. LeMoine, that a request be made to the Federal Government, and to the Local Government of Quebec, asking them;

1st. To have copies made, by competent persons, of the historical documents deposited in the archives of London, Paris and other cities.

2nd. To deposit the archives of the Province of Quebec in one spot, which should be at the office of the registrar, as containing already the largest portion of the French archives.

3rd. To place together in another depot at Ottawa, the archives disseminated in the various Federal departments; this depot being placed under the control of the Department of Agriculture.

Moved by Mr. Ernest Gagnon, and seconded by Lieutenant Colonel Strange, that a petition be prepared for presentation to the Dominion Government, requesting that the Copyright Law be so changed as to harmonize with that of Great Britain, allowing it to extend during the life of the author and fifty years later.

THE ABORIGINES OF CANADA

UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN.

WITH A GLANCE AT THEIR CUSTOMS, CHARACTERISTICS,
AND HISTORY ;

BY

WILLIAM CLINT,

(READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 23RD MARCH, 1878.)

THE question of our relations with the Indian inhabitants of this vast country should be an interesting one. It should be interesting firstly because on us, as Christians, the duty seems to have been imposed of leading these people out of the darkness of heathenism and superstition to a knowledge of the Christian religion, of raising them from their squalor and ignorance to an improved position physically, socially and mentally, and of preparing them for the exercise of those rights of citizenship which are the birthright of intelligent British subjects of every color and creed. The subject should be especially interesting too, because it has fallen to the lot of the present generation to open out for settlement the great North-West, the future garden of the Dominion, and we are thus brought face to face with the Indian in his native wilds. It is necessary that the Indian hunting-ground should be in a large measure given up to the plough and sickle of the White man; it has been so ordered by Providence, doubtless for the ultimate good of the Indian himself, as well as the White man; but it is not necessary that this result should be

accomplished by a system of spoliation and extermination. On the contrary, animated as we should be by that spirit of justice and fair-play which so strongly characterizes that great nation of which we are proud to form a part—that generous spirit which secures the weak from oppression on the part of the strong—we should see that if we are obliged to encroach upon territory hitherto occupied by the Red man, we give him a fair equivalent for what we get; that if we deprive him of his accustomed means of subsistence we place within his reach other means, which will finally obtain for him more comfort, more independence, and more happiness, and that we treat him in all respects as men should do who are themselves free-born citizens of an enlightened, freedom-loving, Christian state. The Indians should in fact be made to feel that under the folds of the Union Jack they are the equals of any in the land, so long as they obey laws framed with the object of protecting the Red man from injustice on the part of the White just as fully and firmly as they would afford protection to the White man if threatened by the Red. The eyes of other nations are upon us, and according to our action in these respects will they judge us; nay, according to our action in this matter will we judge ourselves, nationally and individually, and according to it too will we be judged by posterity.

We have, I think, no reason to feel ashamed of the course of the representatives of British authority towards the aboriginal tribes. Throughout this broad country we have at present no portion of them in arms against us, or at enmity with us; on the contrary, we have permanently attracted, so far as can be seen at present, their respect and good-will. How then has this result been arrived at?

I propose in this paper to consider as briefly as possible the original inhabitants of this country, their distinguishing characteristics and customs, and the relations with the

European of those who occupied the older provinces during the eventful period of the French *régime*, to discover the whereabouts of the remnants of these once powerful tribes, their present condition, and what has been done for them by our Government, and finally to consider the dealings of the authorities with the Indian tribes of the great North-West.

The term "Indian" originally came to be applied to the aborigines of this continent by Columbus and the early discoverers, because they imagined that the newly-found countries were parts of Asia or the "Indies," and though this was soon afterwards found to be an error, the term had become established, and has since continued in use. The Indians formed a peculiar variety of the human species, differing, though not very widely, from the Mongolian. It has been ascertained upon investigation of the different dialects in use in North America that there were eight aboriginal mother tongues, and this fact would seem to indicate that there were the same number of distinct branches or families. The new world is believed to have been peopled from the old, and considering that the Mongol race was situated nearest the point where Asia and America approach very closely to each other, and the points of resemblance between the two races, it is natural to suppose that the Indians were of Mongolian extraction, and had originally found their way across the narrow channel which divides the two continents. The points of difference between the two races are easily accounted for by reason of the change of outward circumstances, and although the variety of dialect amongst the Indian tribes would seem to militate against the idea of common extraction and the one route of immigration, yet on the other hand the theory is supported by the strong resemblance there was in the appearance, habits, and ideas, of all the Indian tribes from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico.

The face was broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, more rounded and arched than in the allied type, without having the visage expanded to the same breadth. The forehead was generally low and narrow, the eyes deep, small, and of dark or light hazel color, the nose rather diminutive, but prominent, with wide nostrils, the mouth large, and lips thick, the expression stern and fierce. The stature, though variable in different parts of the continent, was in the country we now inhabit generally above the middle size in the men, though the women were usually below that standard, a fact which may probably be ascribed to the drudgery they were obliged to undergo. The colour of the skin was red or copper-coloured, a tint which was not altogether ascribable to the influence of sun, rain, and wind, but is said to have been to a great extent artificially produced by dissolving the juice of a root with the oil, grease, &c., with which they were accustomed to besmear their persons. The hair, like that of the allied type, the Mongols, was coarse, black, thin, but long. Like the latter also, by a curious coincidence, most of them removed it from every part of the head with the exception of a tuft on the crown, which they cherished with much care. Any possibility of beard was carefully obviated by pulling out the hairs from the face as fast as they appeared; this probably that there should be no obstacle to the painting of the face according to custom. They were capable of long-continued exertion, an individual having been known to travel nearly eighty miles in a day without symptom of fatigue; and they were also capable of extraordinary abstinence from food. Their covering was chiefly the skins of wild animals, whilst their bodies were painted in fantastic fashion, and generally had a representation of the guardian spirit of the individual, the animal that formed the symbol of their tribe and the enemies whom the warrior may have slain and scalped in battle. They subsisted by means of the chase, some tribes only devoting themselves slightly to

agriculture, which consisted chiefly in growing *maize*; and the labour of which devolved almost entirely on the women. In their native state they were not acquainted with any species of intoxicating liquor. Their dwellings were cabins or huts made from the bark of trees. Of domestic animals they had the dog, which they made useful in hunting, and occasionally made a meal of; the horse was unknown until after the arrival of Europeans in the country.

Their government was democratic in the extreme, in spirit though not in form, each individual being free to do as he pleased, even to the wounding or murder of a neighbour with whom he may have had a controversy, though in this case the injury would be speedily avenged by the kindred of the injured person, the episode scarcely ruffling the general tranquillity, or else the life taken was atoned for by presents of a fixed value made up from among the tribe, and especially was this done if the murdered man had belonged to another tribe. Sometimes however such outrages brought on wars between different tribes. But, notwithstanding this individual freedom, the strictest order existed in their communities, the absence of any restraint of law being made up for by a strong feeling of clannish attachment, binding the members of one tribe to each other, and also by that sense of dignity and self-command which they considered inseparable from the character of a warrior. As Parkman says, in speaking of the Iroquois: “An explanation of this harmony is to be found also in an intense spirit of nationality, for never since the days of Sparta were individual life and national life more completely fused into one.”

They were generous in relieving each other's necessities, and in caring for the children of relatives or members of the same tribe killed in battle. Polygamy was almost unknown among the tribes in the vicinity of the Lakes. They were tender in their domestic relations, although all

outward exhibition of this tenderness was studiously suppressed, as unbecoming the character of warriors. The exertion however of the father for the welfare of his family, and eagerness to avenge their wrongs, sufficiently proved that this apathy was far more apparent than real.

The mental faculties of the Indians were developed in a comparatively remarkable degree. The manner in which they would follow out a direct line through the pathless forest, the geographical knowledge they attained in their wanderings, the political acumen they displayed in their measures for the aggrandizement of their own tribe and the humbling of their enemies, their oratorical powers in the use of their unwritten, and limited, but figurative language, were such as to command the admiration and surprise of Europeans.

They believed in the existence of a Great Spirit, or Supreme Ruler of the Universe, though their application of the term rendered in our language "Spirit" did not necessarily convey the idea of an immaterial nature. The lamented Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in some pretty stanzas, entitled: "The Arctic Indian's Faith," outlines the Indian's ideas on this head.

" We worship the Spirit that walks unseen
Through our land of ice and snow;
We know not His face, we know not His place,
But His presence and power we know.

Does the Buffalo need the Pale-face Word
To find his pathway far?
What guide has he to the hidden ford,
Or where the green pastures are?
Who teacheth the Moose that the hunter's gun
Is peering out of the shade?
Who teacheth the doe and the fawn to run
In the track the Moose has made?

Him do we fellow, Him do we fear,
The Spirit of earth and sky;
Who hears with the Wapiti's eager ear

His poor red children's cry;
Whose whisper we note in every breeze
That stirs the birch canoe;
Who hangs the rein-deer moss on the trees
For the food of the *Caribou*.

That Spirit we worship who walks unseen
Through our land of ice and snow;
We know not His face, we know not His place,
But His presence and power we know."

But though the Indian had some idea of a supreme overruling Spirit, his belief was involved in much mystery and superstition. He spiritualized all nature. Birds and beasts, and even inanimate objects, such as lakes, rivers, forests, could be the home of the great Spirit, or might have a spiritual nature, a soul of their own, to be propitiated by prayers and offerings. The Good Spirit was looked to to give good fortune, success in battle, and in the chase, courage amid tortures, &c., whilst any unpropitious event was regarded as the result of the anger of the Good Spirit, or of the machinations of an Evil Spirit, and the Spirit had accordingly to be appeased by offerings, it might be of a fragment of meat thrown into the fire and burned that the Spirit might partake of it, or an offering of tobacco thrown into a river, or in some other way. The *manitou*, or guardian power, was an object of great veneration. It might be the head or claw of a bird, or a fish, serpent, or other object which would be impressed on the mind of a youth in a dream after he had undergone a preparatory fast of several days, and which would thereafter be looked upon as his special guardian spirit, and expected to aid him in every emergency.

They believed in a future life, a brighter land, a happy hunting-ground, where the spirit of the warrior who had borne himself bravely in battle, or unflinchingly undergone torture at the hands of his enemies should at last arrive, after having surmounted several obstacles on the way, to

find game in abundance, and perpetual freedom from hunger and cold, from sickness, and suffering, and war. The dim tradition of a creation, and of a general deluge was also handed down by the Indian from generation to generation.

They had great reverence for the dead, whom they interred in the richest robes, and with all their arms and ornaments supposed to be necessary for their use in the happy hunting-grounds, and the bones of their fathers were considered as one of the strongest ties to their native soil.

They had great faith in dreams, and before engaging in war, the chase, or any other undertaking, the dreams of the principal chiefs were carefully noted, and the conduct of the tribe shaped in accordance with their interpretation. Charlevoix relates that when Sir William Johnson during the American war was negotiating an alliance with a friendly tribe, the chief confidentially disclosed that during his slumbers he had been favoured with a vision of Sir William bestowing upon him the rich laced coat which formed his full dress. The fulfilment of this revelation was very inconvenient, yet on being assured that it positively occurred the English Commander found it advisable to resign his uniform. Soon after however, he unfolded to the Indian a dream with which he had himself been favored, and in which the former was seen presenting him with a large tract of fertile land most commodiously situated. The native ruler admitted that since the vision had been vouchsafed it must be realized, but earnestly proposed to cease this mutual dreaming which he found had turned much to his own disadvantage.

But that which presented the character of the Indian in its darkest aspect was his warfare. The deadliest enmity occasionally sprung up between tribes, caused either by individual acts of provocation, encroachments on one another's hunting grounds, the desire of extending the

power of a tribe, or even a thirst for glory or excitement. The Indians rarely fought pitched battles; their warfare took the form rather of skirmishes, surprises, ambuscades, and sudden forays into each other's hunting grounds and villages. When once hostilities had begun the predominating passion was revenge. Having taken measures to learn the will of the Great Spirit, and provided the result was favorable, the war-chief who was elected by the warriors on account of his experience, military renown, commanding stature, &c., immediately entered on a course of preparation. He was painted in bright and varied colors, red predominating; he endured long fasts, and took particular note of his dreams. A huge fire was kindled, whereon was placed the great war-cauldron, into which every one present threw something. The chief sang the war-song, and the warriors joined in the war-dance, after which a solemn feast of dogs' flesh was held, during which former exploits were recounted, and those they expected to achieve dilated upon. The females occupied themselves in negotiating for a supply of captives on whom to wreak their vengeance, and appease the shades of their slain relatives, and all preliminaries being completed the leader started on the march singing his war-song, while the others followed, at intervals sounding the war-whoop. On entering hostile territory they crept along in the deepest silence, keeping close together, watching each twig and tuft of grass for any sign of the trail of an enemy which they were adepts in discovering. As the Indians seldom posted sentries, trusting entirely for safety to the protection of their guardian spirits, it was an easy matter to surprise a hostile village. Having made their way then to the vicinity of their enemy's village without previous discovery, they would secrete themselves in the forest until the small hours of the morning, and then throwing themselves upon the village like so many fiends, with arrows, tomahawks, and war-clubs, they soon despatched the majority of the inhabitants.

They contrived to capture as many fugitives as possible alive, in order that they might be subjected on the return home of the war-party to all the refinements of cruel torture that diabolical minds could conceive, tortures in which the women took a chief part, to revenge themselves for the loss of their husbands and brothers in the battle. These tortures were borne with the most heroic courage, the unfortunate captive singing his death-song, recounting his warlike exploits, and the cruelties his people had inflicted on the friends of his tormentors, and daring the latter to do their worst. At times it happened that a captive instead of being tortured, was adopted into one of the families of his captors, to replace one who had perished in the engagement, and in such case he became thereafter a regular member of the tribe. The Iroquois particularly were in the habit of adopting prisoners at times, as they thus were enabled to offset their large losses in their numerous wars. Sometimes portions of the flesh of prisoners were eaten, but it does not appear that cannibalism as a practice can be charged against the Indians.

When necessary for the accomplishment of their ends, they did not hesitate to use treachery; on the other hand many instances are on record illustrative of the sway of the principle of honor among them. An example or two may not be out of place. In 1663 a party of Iroquois was on the way to negotiate a peace with the French, when some Algonquins, stung by their wrongs, formed an ambuscade, and violated the character of the mission by killing the majority of the party. In 1645 two war parties—Huron and Iroquois—met in the forest: the Hurons fought so well as nearly to have gained the day, when the Iroquois called for a parley to treat for peace, and when the chiefs of the opposite party had sat down to a council they fell on them, and killed or captured a considerable number. On the other hand Parkman related that an old Iroquois chief,

having been despatched as an ambassador to negotiate a treaty with the Hurons, and having a suspicion that some of the Iroquois were about to attack the Hurons, which they actually did, so felt the stain upon his honor that he committed suicide, and was found with his throat gashed from ear to ear, a victim of mortified pride. On another occasion a French Priest, who had been residing with one of the Iroquois nations, and against whom, owing to some action of the French Indians, a feeling had been raised, was, by order of the chiefs, conducted out of the country to a place of safety before this feeling could take form, in accordance with a pledge for his safety previously given. The intercourse between the Iroquois and the British Colonists also affords numerous instances of the scrupulous integrity with which the former adhered to the provisions of their treaties, or *chains*, as they called them, with the latter, a scrupulousness which might put to shame at times the dealings of the White man with his fellows.

At the time of the first settlement of Europeans on this continent, it is computed that the native inhabitants of North America did not exceed 200,000 souls. The territory then styled New France, together with the chief portion of what is now the State of New York, was chiefly divided between three great nations, the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Iroquois or Five Nations. These were the most important, but there were also other subordinate tribes. In regard to their names and hunting grounds, the following summary is taken from Dr. Miles' History of Canada:

“In that part of New France now called Nova Scotia, in Gaspé, and south of the St. Lawrence, the Indians were offshoots of the great Algonquin stock, including those named *Micmacs* or *Souriquois*, *Etchemins*, *Abenakis*, and *Sokokis*, to the number of about four thousand in all. Further inland, and occupying chiefly the north bank of the

“St. Lawrence were the *Montagnais* of Saguenay and Lake
“St. John, having for neighbours to the north the *Esqui-*
“*maux* of Labrador and the regions bordering on Hudson’s
“Bay. In the valley of the river St. Maurice, and occupy-
“ing the north bank of the St. Lawrence, in the vicinity of
“the site of Three Rivers, were the *Bull-heads* or *Attikame-*
“*gues*. Next to these, extending westwards along the St.
“Lawrence, and on the banks of the Ottawa were the *Al-*
“*gonquins* proper, including a tribe named *Nipissings*
“around the lake of that name. The *Ottawas* and *Chippe-*
“*was* were near the outlet of Lake Superior, to the south of
“which lay the *Foxes*, the *Sacs*, the *Menomonees*, the *Mas-*
“*coutens* and *Kikapoos*. The *Hurons*—a term originally
“used by the French as a nickname—whose proper name
“was *Wendats*, or *Wyandots*, numbering it is believed not
“less than 30,000, occupied settlements in the peninsula
“adjacent to Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, having for
“neighbors on the south-west the *Tionontates* or *Petuns*.
“Next to these latter, to the south, and extending eastward
“as far as or beyond the Falls of Niagara, were a great many
“kindred tribes, collectively named the *Neutral Nations*, on
“account of their abstaining from taking any part in the
“wars of their neighbours, and preserving terms of amity
“with them all. The whole of the above-named tribes,
“viz: the *Micmacs* or *Souriquois*, *Etchemins*, *Abenakis*,
“*Sokokis*, *Montagnais*, *Bull-heads* or *Attikam gues*, *Algon-*
“*quins*, *Nipissings*, *Ottawas*, *Chippewas*, *Foxes*, *Sacs*, *Memo-*
“*monees*, *Mascoutens*, *Kikapoos*, *Hurons* or *Wyandots*, *Tio-*
“*montates* or *Petuns*, together with some other minor tribes
“south of Lake Erie, and extending to the valleys of the
“Ohio and the Mississippi are considered as belonging to or
“derived from the great *Algonquin* or *Algic* stock. On the
“south of the St. Lawrence, west of the river Richelieu,
“and extending southward and westward along the shores
“of Lake Ontario, were the principal settlements and
“hunting-grounds of the *Iroquois*, sometimes called *Huron-*

“*Iroquois*, the most famous of all the tribes of Indians concerned in the history of Canada and New England. They consisted of five considerable tribes: the *Mohawks*, the *Oneidas*, the *Onondagas*, the *Cayugas*, and the *Senecas*, to whom were joined in the year 1712, the *Tuscaroras* from Carolina. They formed the celebrated league or confederacy of *Five Nations*, having their head-quarters in the north-eastern parts of the State of New York. * * *

* * * Before the coming of the French intense enmity and unceasing warfare had subsisted between the *Iroquois* and the Indians of Canada—more especially the *Hurons*, *Algonquins*, and *Abenakis*, with whom it will be seen the French took part against the *Iroquois*.”

Such were the wonderful people who once roamed over this continent, a people differing alike from the barbarians of the old world, and from what we might have expected in the new, with dark lines thickly drawn perhaps but yet with glimmerings of light and loftier possibilities, a people destined as we shall see from a necessarily rapid sketch of subsequent events to play a very prominent part in the history of our country. Say you that they were blood-thirsty, cruel, vindictive, barbarous? Perhaps they were, but before condemning these savages too severely we must turn our eyes towards countries professedly Christian, and see what was going on there about the same time. On the 24th August, 1572, just 37 years after Jacques Cartier first cast anchor opposite the Indian village of Stadacona, occurred in France the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by which from 25,000 to 30,000 French subjects were butchered in cold blood during three days. In England, a few years later we find people burned at the stake for holding, conscientiously, certain religious opinions; and in the same country in the following century, we have the “Bloody Assizes” and the infamous Judge Jeffreys, a being whose atrocities were scarcely surpassed by any that

are recorded against the North American Indians. Indeed very frequently the nobility of character is all on the side of the Indian and the reverse on that of the White. They were cruel because they were savage. They knew no better. It was a point of honor with them to torture their enemies; but, if they did inflict suffering on others they were ready heroically to bear similar tortures themselves if chance ordained it. The barbarities of the Inquisition took place among Christians, and their parallel among savages should not therefore excite much surprise.

THE INDIAN AND THE WHITE MAN.

Although the first contact of the white man with the Indians of this country was not marked by the cruelties which were practised elsewhere, one event occurred which was not calculated to prepossess them in his favor, Jacques Cartier when re-embarking for France in the spring of 1536, having carried off with him by stratagem Donacona, the Indian Chief at Stadacona, and several of his people, who all died in that country shortly afterwards.

In 1608 Samuel de Champlain the first Governor of Quebec, landed on the present site of the city of that name. He found the villages of Stadacona and Hochelaga mentioned by Cartier, to have become extinct, owing no doubt to the wars constantly being waged amongst the Indians themselves. Colden reports that the Indians known as the *Five Nations*, according to a tradition extant amongst themselves, once occupied the neighbourhood of Montreal, (the site of the Indian village of Hochelaga) whence the Algonquins drove them. At the time of Champlain's arrival just alluded to, a state of war existed between the *Algonquins* and *Hurons* on the one hand, and the *Five Nations* on the other, and the former were desirous to obtain the assistance of the Europeans in their favor. Champlain was anxious to cultivate friendship with these nations, his

neighbours, in order to extend the fur trade, and to obtain their help in exploring the interior of the country, and in consequence he was readily induced to ally himself with them against the Iroquois or five Nations, a determination which cost his countrymen dearly in after times, as by it he voluntarily arrayed himself against a people who had not so far molested him, and whose implacable and deadly hate he thereby secured for more than a century.

This determination on Champlain's part resulted in his undertaking with the Algonquins and Hurons three expeditions against the Iroquois, in the first of which he made a successful attack on them in the vicinity of Lake George; secondly, in the following year, he again attacked them successfully near the mouth of the Richelieu; and thirdly in the summer of 1615, when the Hurons, Algonquins, and French were defeated by the Iroquois in the country of the latter south of Lake Ontario, defeat which in its consequences proved highly disastrous to the vanquished Indian tribes, for the Iroquois waged war against them with slight intermission during the next thirty-five years, until they had destroyed all their settlements, and put an end to their existence as a distinct people.

The year 1615 was noted for the arrival of six Recollet Fathers, who visited the Hurons along with Champlain, one going next year amongst the Neutral Nation. In June, 1625, there arrived out five of the order of Jesuits, among whom were Charles Lallement and Jean de Brebœuf, destined to undergo a cruel death at the hands of the Indians in later years. These Jesuits, with others who followed them, exhibited a heroic persistency in the work of endeavouring to convert the Indians to Christianity, which the greatest hardships and the most horrid cruelties could not turn from its purpose. It fell to the lot of several of them to undergo the cruel tortures of the Indians, and

they surprised the latter by the determined courage with which they bore them. In spite of torture and death the mission was persisted in for about a quarter of a century, till the destruction of the doomed Hurons by their enemies, the Iroquois, necessarily ended it.

About this time too the traders at Tadousac and elsewhere began to supply the Indians with the "fire-water" which has proved such a curse to them ever since.

In 1636 the Iroquois penetrated for the first time collectively into the midst of the Hurons, and a desultory warfare continued, the Iroquois also harassing the newly erected French establishment at Ville-Marie in 1643 and 1644. In 1645 a peace was made at Three Rivers between the French and their allies on the one hand and the Oneida canton of the Iroquois on the other, which however was broken the following year, and then ensued the usual raids, massacres, burnings and torturings of their Indian enemies by the Iroquois, who were about this time being supplied with fire-arms and ammunition by the Dutch residents of what is now the State of New York. The colony of Massachusetts having in 1648 applied to the French with a view to arranging for reciprocity of trade, the then French Governor, D'Aillebout, sent a deputation to carry out their views on condition that the New Englanders should aid them in putting down the Iroquois. This the New Englanders courteously refused, as the Iroquois had never molested them; and this overture on the part of the French having become known to the Iroquois, they rushed to arms with redoubled fury, with the purpose of exterminating both the Canadian Indians and the French. At this time the Hurons and Algonquins far outnumbered the Iroquois; indeed the Hurons alone were not much inferior in force, for the strength of the five Iroquois nations is estimated to have been now considerably less than three thousand war-

riors. The superiority of the Iroquois lay in their better organization, better discipline. They now, in 1648, fell upon the establishment at Sillery, where four hundred families of converted Indians were settled. It was Sunday morning, and most of the inhabitants were at church, when suddenly an indiscriminate slaughter was begun of men, women, and children, the priest himself, after receiving numerous blows, being thrown into the flames of the church. The village was also destroyed by fire. On the 4th of July, 1648, a body of Iroquois fell suddenly upon the village of St. Joseph, on the South-eastern frontier of the Huron country, and slaughtered every soul in the place to the number of seven hundred, including the priest, Père Antony Daniel: on 16th March, 1649, a similar fate befel the neighbouring settlement of St. Ignace, where about four hundred were killed; and the next day the same band fell on the village of St. Louis, where most of the inhabitants were put to death, in many instances by torture, the Jesuits Brebœuf and Lallemant, who were in charge of the settlement, being subjected to the latter fate.

After some further hostilities, the Hurons, utterly defeated and disheartened, agreed with one accord to leave the country. A few reluctantly united with their conquerors, others found an asylum with other neighbouring tribes, and the rest sought refuge in the Island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron, where famine and the Iroquois again decimated them, until at last a broken remnant of this once formidable nation besought their missionaries to convey them to Quebec, where they could be under the protection of the French, and accordingly, setting out by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa Valley, headed by Père Rague-neau, they finally reached Quebec in 1650. Here they were joined the following year by about four hundred more. They were given land near the South-western extremity of the Island of Orleans. In 1656, however, the Iroquois

again made a descent on them, and carried off a large number under the very guns of Quebec, after which calamity they were removed to Quebec, and lodged in a square enclosure of palisades close to the fort. Here they remained about ten years, when they were removed to Ste. Foye, and six years afterwards, when the soil was impoverished, and the wood in the neighbourhood exhausted, they again removed, under the auspices of the Jesuits, to Old Lorette, and before the end of the century they formed the village of Jeune Lorette, where their descendants can be found at the present time. The result of all was that not only the Huron countries, but those about the valley of the Ottawa, all teeming with population, as they had been, were become howling wildernesses.

The Iroquois, having disposed of the Hurons, turned their attention to the French settlements, until it was no longer safe for the colonists to go about their affairs without arms. They also now attacked the Neutral Nation, and in 1650 completely annihilated them. In 1653 they, of their own accord, sent deputies to make a peace with the French, which having been concluded, they took advantage of the opportunity, during the next ten years, to destroy successively the Eries, the Ottawas, and the Andastes, of the latter a small remnant only escaping, and the former leaving no trace of its existence but the great Lake which bears its name. The conquerors now held, it was reckoned, undisputed sway over a country five hundred miles in circuit. In 1670 a number of converted Iroquois migrated to Canada, and were located at first at La Prairie; subsequently as it was found that the soil was unsuited to the cultivation of their principal article of food, *maize*, they were removed to Sault St. Louis (Caughnawaga) and lands assigned to them, which are occupied by their descendants to this day. A similar Iroquois settlement was made at Lake of the Two Mountains in the same vicinity.

Into the subsequent calamitous events we shall not now enter very fully. The succession of the English to the Dutch in New York, the boundary quarrels and border wars, the sickening array of murders, pillagings, and massacres, the butchery at Lachine by the Iroquois, and the terrible massacre at Schenectady, and, later on at Fort William Henry, both by the Canadian Indians, the capture of Quebec in 1759, and cession at Montreal the following year, the attempt on the colony in 1755 by the Americans, and the warfare waged by the same power in 1812, all followed in due succession.

The Iroquois, especially the Mohawks and Senecas, had been the firm allies originally of the Dutch, and after the taking of New York in 1664, of the English, and their alliance with the latter was never broken by any quarrels or warlike proceedings. They acted as a barrier between the British colonists and the French colonists on the North, and materially aided in sweeping away the chain of forts from the great Lakes down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, by which it was hoped by the French to confine the British colonies to territory on the Atlantic seaboard. They were also present under Sir William Johnson at the capitulation at Montreal in 1760. But what was the cost to them of their long periods of war? As early as 1660 their numbers are said to have been reduced to 2,200 warriors, of whom not more than 1,200 were of the true Iroquois stock. The rest were a mixture of adopted prisoners—Hurons, Neutrals, Eries, and Indians of various Algonquin tribes.

Were the Iroquois then more cruel and blood-thirsty than the other Indian tribes? They can scarcely be so characterized. As respects ferocity of nature there was no appreciable difference between any of these tribes. The Iroquois, by their superior ability, their better organization,

their quickness to learn lessons from experience, had succeeded in attaining the *power* of crushing their enemies, which they then proceeded to exercise. Had the Algonquins and Hurons succeeded in obtaining the upper hand over their adversaries, the Iroquois, there is no reason to suppose that the extermination of the latter would have been delayed, or that it would have been accomplished with one whit more humanity.

After the capitulation of 1760 many of the Indian tribes of the West, who had been in amicable relations with the French, were not pleased at the country being given up to the British. Nine-tenths of these Indians were still in the French interest. The Indians of Quebec had been glad to have the aid of the French in their contests with the Iroquois, and the Iroquois had looked to the English to protect them against the French. The French required no cessions of land, and in their trade and intercourse with the natives did not leave upon the minds of the latter the impression that they had come to permanently reside in the country, or that they were the vanguard of a people who would eventually spread themselves over the land and sweep from it its original owners. The Western Indians looked with great jealousy upon the evident design of the colonists in Virginia to cross the Alleghanies and open up a route for European immigration into the interior of the country, and they were anxious to have the aid of the French in opposing this design; whilst it suited the views of the latter power admirably that the Indians should be imbued with the desire to drive back the English. The Indians were amazed then at the downfall of French power in 1760; they were much dissatisfied with this result, and hoped to retrieve it; and from this dissatisfaction arose one of the most savage and prolonged wars, that of Pontiac in 1763. Pontiac was a great Indian war-chief, who was endowed with great courage, intelli-

gence, and system. He formed a project similar to that which Tecumseh entertained some forty years afterwards. He united all the North-western tribes of Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottowatomies in one great confederacy against the British, and planned a simultaneous attack on all the trading posts in their possession, and so far succeeded that ten of these forts were surprised about the same time, and all the English soldiers and traders massacred, whilst the French were spared. Pontiac afterwards laid siege to Detroit and kept it in a state of siege for twelve months; it was gallantly defended by Major Gladwyn, until relieved by Gen. Bradstreet with 3,000 men. The Indian tribes afterwards had to sue for peace, and Pontiac returned to Illinois, where he was afterwards murdered through private animosity by a Peoria Indian.

The opposition of Pontiac having been subdued, and the Indians having been shown, by a great display of military force, that the nation with which they had to deal was one capable of carrying out its behests, a new era dawned in the relations of these Indians with British authority, an era of greater sympathy, greater trustfulness; and in the inauguration of this better state of things the hand of a wise administrator was seen, to whose memory the nation owes much, the hand of the Superintendent-General of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson, the beloved of the Iroquois. He, in 1764, arranged for a general convention of Indian tribes at Fort Niagara, where he collected, 1,700 warriors, and prepared wise measures for a treaty of peace, amity, and alliance, which was afterwards extended to other tribes, and resulted in a general pacification, in which the following among other tribes joined: the Chippewas, Mississagies, Pottawattamies, Delawares, Shawanees and Miamies. He also took measures to regulate and place on a satisfactory footing all matters of Indian trade, and in his dealings with the tribes exhibited such a pru-

dent, conciliatory spirit, combined with justice, firmness, and moderation, as to gradually gain over the good-will of the Indians, and lay the foundation for a more friendly feeling towards the British authorities which has been growing and ripening ever since. It was indeed fortunate that the British authorities should choose as the chief of the Indian Department at this juncture so politic and judicious a man as Sir William Johnson and should associate him with others as subordinates similarly minded.

At the time of the Revolutionary war a large proportion of the Western tribes took sides with the British. This was owing partly no doubt to a more friendly feeling having by this time sprung up. It was owing also to an idea that the British would come out most successfully in the struggle and a desire to be on the winning side; and also to a hope that the British would help them afterwards to confine the more Southern settlements to the territory to the East of the valley of the Ohio. The Iroquois with slight exception remained firm in their allegiance to Great Britain their ancient ally, and suffered severely during the war, being defeated and driven out of their country by Gen. Sullivan. A portion of them, including the Mohawk tribe, afterwards came over to Canada, along with their famous chief Tyendinaga, better known as Col. Brant, and had lands granted them by the British Government where their descendants are to be found at the present day. The Revolutionary war sounded the death-knell of this celebrated league, and we do not hear of them as a body taking part in the next struggle. Their celebrated chief Tyendinaga, or Col. Brant, so-called from having held a lieut.-colonelcy in the British army, was a man of wonderful ability and skill. In his youth he had been a pupil at Dr. Wheelock's school; he was employed as an interpreter and translator at the missionary station at Fort Hunter, and was brother to the Indian wife of Sir William Johnson,

who was revered by the Iroquois as their leader and counsellor, and who conducted their affairs with such consummate ability, and such benefit to British power. Brant became the hero of the Iroquois, and at the time of the Revolutionary war was very active on the side of the British, for whom he had a very warm attachment, and whose cause he served till the close of the war. The poet Campbell, in his "Gertrude of Wyoming," gave him the discredit of some acts of cruelty which were committed by others. In the later editions of the work the charge is withdrawn, it having been proved that Brant was not even present.

In the war of 1812 a large proportion of the Western Indian tribes took sides with the British. The great chief Tecumseh was intimately connected with this war. He was a Shawanee chief, and a valiant warrior, born in Ohio in 1770. He is said from his earliest years to have given evidence of the superior powers which afterwards characterized him. He had a high reputation for integrity; his word was inviolable. He has been described as "stamped a hero by the hand of nature, and equally distinguished by policy and eloquence." With the aid of his brother he had, about the year 1804, conceived the idea of uniting all the Western Indians in a confederacy, to make a simultaneous attack upon the frontier settlements, in order to prevent further encroachments on the Red man's territory. It is difficult to say, of course, but yet it is just possible, that if the United States had had a master-hand such as Sir William Johnson at this time. Tecumseh might have been prevented, through friendly intercession, from using his great influence against them. Tecumseh proposed to Governor Harrison that they should both go together to Washington to lay before the President in person his grievances on the land question, and ask the President's decision. This proposition the Governor refused. Tidings of

the proposed movement against the White settlements had been of course brought to Gen. Harrison, and it is supposed that deceptive information afterwards reached him to the effect that large numbers of Indians were assembling at Tippecanoe with hostile intent, and that it would be advisable to disperse them at once. He accordingly attacked the Indians at Tippecanoe, killing about 40 and wounding a like number. Exasperated by what they considered an unjustifiable outrage, the Indians were all the more ready to join the British in the war of 1812, which broke out shortly afterwards. Tecumseh was one of those who did so. Being importuned by the Americans to attend a council to try and arrange for the neutrality of the Indians in the struggle, he replied: "No, I have taken sides with the British, and I will suffer my bones to bleach upon this shore before I will recross that river to join in any council of neutrality." He kept his word. In 1813 a battle was fought near Chatham, in which the Americans under General Harrison beat General Procter with considerable loss, and in this battle Tecumseh fell, pierced, it is said, by the bullets of Kentucky mounted riflemen whilst fighting bravely for the British at the head of his warriors.

THEIR PRESENT CONDITION

During the time that has since elapsed, down to the present day, the treatment of the Indians by our authorities has continued to be kind and just. Those who had been located on various tracts of land by the French (at Caughnawaga, &c.) have been protected in all their rights; reserves have been apportioned to other tribes; wise regulations have been made for their government, and measures taken for their general improvement, which can be best judged of by looking at their fruits in the condition of the Indians to-day. All are contented and peaceful, and in one instance only do we find anything to the contrary, viz.: among the Indians at Oka, Lake of Two Mountains, and there the dispute is not with the Government, but with the

Seminary of St. Sulpice. These difficulties being now before the courts, we will not enter further into them here.

From the interesting report for 1876 of the Department of the Interior, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian affairs, and from other sources, we glean the following particulars:

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Of the above the

Six Nations of Grand River number..... 3,069

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Then there are the

Chippewas of Lake Superior.....	1,875
“ “ Lake Huron.....	1,430
“ “ Saugeen.....	341
“ “ Cape Croker.....	380
“ “ Snake Island.....	131
“ “ Rama.....	257
“ “ Christian Island.....	188
Chippewas and Pottawattamies of Sarnia	556
Chippewas and Munsees of the Thames .	571
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies of Walpole Island.....	845
Wyandotts (or Hurons) of Anderdon....	76
Manitoulin Island Indians.....	1,530

The latter, we presume, made up of different tribes.

Besides the above there are various other Indian settlements of different tribes or nations in the Province of Ontario.

In the Province of Quebec we have the

Iroquois of Caughnawaga.....	1,511
“ “ St. Regis.....	947
Iroquois and Algonquins of the Lake of Two Mountains.....	506

These are descendants of the Indians converted to christianity by the early Jesuit Missionaries, and located on these lands by the French during their occupation of the country.

Then we have the

Hurons of Lorette, (of whom mention has been made previously).....	295
Abenakis of St. Francis.....	268
“ “ Becancour.....	67

Micmacs of Maria.....	67
“ “ Restigouche.....	451
Montagnais of Lake St. John.....	245
“ “ Moisie, Seven Islands, Betsiamits, and Mingan.....	1,309
Naskapees of Lower St. Lawrence.....	2,860
Algonquins, Nipissings, Ottawas, of the Ottawa and St. Maurice districts, &c., &c., about.....	800

Besides members of various tribes scattered in different parts of the Province.

In the Maritime Provinces the Indians are chiefly Micmacs.

There are of Indian pupils attending school:—

In Ontario.....	1,857
In Quebec.....	394

Of course the chief difficulties to contend with in dealing with the Indian are his constitutional indolence, his natural antipathy to any fixed residence or employment, and his partiality for the “ fire-water,” a taste which seems to have become ingrained in him ever since he first learned from the white man the use of a beverage which has proved such a curse to both. It is gratifying to know that in each of these particulars an improvement on the whole sure, if slow, is visible, and that with the supervision and watchfulness exercised by the authorities, a gradual advance is likely in each generation, until at last the Indian, instead of being a member of a barbarous, heathen horde, wandering aimlessly over this vast continent, will have attained to the proud position of an enfranchised christian citizen of the first christian nation in the world.

It is generally believed that in these older provinces the Indian race is, from one cause or another, gradually waning and becoming extinct. This idea is erroneous; the Indian population is rather on the increase in the older provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward's Island.

The revenue which flows into the Indian fund of the Dominion, year by year, is of two classes, viz.: that which is derived from the sale of land, timber, stone, and so forth, and which is placed to the credit of *Capital* account; and that derived from interest accruing on invested capital, from legislative grants, rents, fines, &c., which is distributed semi-annually amongst the individuals belonging to the various tribes in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The gross sum standing on the 30th June 1876 at the credit of the capital account of the various Trust Funds, which belong exclusively to, and are employed for the benefit of the Indians of Ontario and Quebec, was \$2,923,335.17 as against \$2,884,972.44 on the 30th June, 1875, showing an increase of \$38,362.73 since the 1st July, 1875. The interest which accrued during the same period amounted to \$155,928.71. This last sum has been in part expended for the benefit of, and in part distributed among the various bands in whose interest the investments were made.

The funds employed in the Indian service in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Manitoba, and in the North-West Territories, are provided by Legislative appropriations, with the exception of certain insignificant amounts, in the case of some of those Provinces, which have accumulated from the sale or lease of small tracts of land, or from timber dues.

The average attendance at the Indian schools of such as are of an age to attend is not found as large as desirable.

Of all the Indian tribes those of Ontario are the most civilized and prosperous. The value of the personal property of the Ontario Indians is said to average \$20.75 *per capita*; of their real estate, \$385.93; and of invested capital, \$210.00; giving an actual value *per capita* for every Indian in Ontario of \$616.68. About one-third of their number are children, and of these about a third attend school. The value of the real estate belonging to them has been much enhanced by the general prosperity of the Province, and the growth of towns and villages in the vicinity of the various reserves.

The Six Nation Indians of Grand River are settled upon a Reserve of some 52,000 acres of cleared and uncleared land; they have a prosperous agricultural society, and a fair stock of horses, oxen, cows, &c. They are christians of various denominations, except about 800 pagans, who do not appear disposed to abandon the ceremonies of their fathers. In regard to education, the departmental report says:—"The good work of the New England Company is zealously prosecuted by the reverend missionaries, and by means of eight Primary Schools under their superintendence, and that most excellent 'Mohawk Institute,' in charge of Mr. Ashton; also, by the Wesleyan Conference through their missionary and two schools; and the creditable example of the Mississiguas who maintain two schools, in striking contrast with the apathy of the Six Nations, who still fail in their duty, because having always been provided with schools, they have thought it unnecessary to contribute towards their support: they appear of late to be more sensible, that they must now aid in the cause of education. Mr. Ashton, the Superintendent of the Mohawk Institute, reports 83 pupils in course of instruction, who, while there, are supported and clothed at the expense of the Company, and taught the ordinary branches and vocal music; the boys work a farm of 300 acres; the girls do the

house-work, including baking of bread and making the clothing of the pupils. The statute labor is generally well done, the people desirous of good roads through their Reserve, while the Council votes moneys for both roads and bridges. Drunkenness has diminished, and the temperance cause is promoted by several native societies; whilst the severity of the recent law against selling or giving liquor to Indians has had a good effect."

The Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté are reported to be improving in habits of industry, and generally support their families in comfort. The Chippewas of Saugeen are said to be making fair progress in industrial habits. Letters have been received at Ottawa from the more intelligent of them, enquiring as to enfranchisement provided for them under the recent Indian Act, the provisions of which seem to have afforded much satisfaction. Of other bands similar satisfactory reports are made. Many are employed hunting, trading, maple-sugar making, carrying goods in their boats for traders, &c., the women manufacturing basket-work and the like, and all in as good circumstances as can be expected, and with as good opportunities for advancement as it is possible for the Government to secure to them.

In the Province of Quebec the total value of the property (of all kinds) of the Indians is \$165 per head. About 400 children attend school.

At Caughnawaga the men are chiefly engaged in navigating steamers and rafts over the Lachine rapids; some cultivate land, and others voyage to the United States. The women are chiefly occupied in bead-work. The tribe have profited somewhat by the lease of a valuable stone quarry within their reserve to certain contractors in Montreal. In spite of repeated fines imposed for the sale of intoxicating liquor in the place the Indians are still able to

get it, and grave disorders consequently arise. The Indians of the Lake of Two Mountains are chiefly engaged in agriculture; some voyage to the North-west. The chief occupation of the women is bead-work. The St. Regis Indians are employed in rafting and boating as pilots and hands; cultivating, hunting, making baskets, bead-work, &c. They do not take much interest in the schooling of their children. The Abenakis of St. Francis are *voyageurs* to a large extent. The Indians of Lake St. John are improving. They are poor, partly owing to the high prices of provisions, dry goods, &c., and because they get less for their furs than is paid at posts whence the transport is less expensive.

The Indians of Nova Scotia are generally sober and industrious. Their property (real and personal estate) is rated at \$25.50 per head. Out of 381 children 80 attend school. Coopering and fishing are the chief employments.

In New Brunswick the value of their property is about \$217 per head. They have no schools, and employ themselves little with agriculture.

The Prince Edward Island Indians have no reserve from the Crown, their lands being set apart through the benevolence of the Aborigines' Protection Society and of private individuals. They hold real and personal estate to the value of about \$24 per head; they have not made much progress.

The Indian Act.

Turning now to the Indian Act of 1876, from which such beneficial results are expected, and which of course applies to all portions of the Dominion, we will examine certain of its provisions. In regard to the protection of reserves, section II provides that:

“ No person, or Indian other than an Indian of the band, shall settle, reside or hunt upon, occupy or use any land or marsh, or shall settle, reside upon or occupy any road, or allowance for roads running through any reserve belonging to or occupied by such band; and all mortgages or hypothecs given or consented to by any Indian, and all leases, contracts and agreements made or purporting to be made by any Indian, whereby persons or Indians other than Indians of the band are permitted to reside or hunt upon such reserve, shall be absolutely void.”

The next following sections provide for the removal, by the authorities, of any person (white man or Indian) so trespassing, and for his incarceration in gaol should he return after the first removal: they also provide penalties for any one removing unlawfully from a reserve any timber, stone, mineral, or other article of value.

No reserve or portion of a reserve can be sold, alienated, or leased, until it has been released or surrendered to the crown for the purposes of this Act, and no such release and surrender shall be valid without the assent of the majority of the band in council assembled.

The next sections provide for the punishment of any agent giving false information in regard to land, or hindering any person from bidding upon or purchasing lands offered at public sale.

Sections 59 and 60 are as follows :—

“The Governor in Council may, subject to the provisions of this Act, direct how, and in what manner, and by whom the moneys arising from sales of Indian lands, and from the property held or to be held in trust for the Indians, or from any timber on Indian lands or reserves, or from any other source for the benefit of Indians (with the exception of any small sum not exceeding ten per cent of the proceeds of any lands, timber or property, which may be agreed at the time of the surrender to be paid to the members of the band interested therein), shall be invested from time to time, and how the payments or assistance to which the Indians may be entitled shall be made or given, and may provide for the general management of such moneys, and direct what percentage or proportion thereof shall be set apart from time to time, to cover the cost of and attendant upon the management of reserves, lands, property and moneys under the provisions of this Act, and for the construction or repair of roads passing through such reserves or lands, and by way of contribution to schools frequented by such Indians.

The proceeds arising from the sale or lease of any Indian lands, or from the timber, hay, stone, minerals or other valuables thereon, or on a reserve, shall be paid to the Receiver General to the credit of the Indian fund.”

The portion of the Act having reference to intoxicants is properly very stringent :—

“ Whoever sells, exchanges with, barter, supplies or gives to any Indian, or non-treaty Indian in Canada, any kind of intoxicant, or causes or procures the same to be done, or connives or attempts thereat, or opens or keeps, or causes to be opened or kept, on any reserve or special reserve, a tavern, house or building where any intoxicant is sold, bartered, exchanged or given, or is found in possession of any intoxicant in the house, tent, wigwam or place of abode of any Indian or non-treaty Indian, shall, on conviction thereof before any judge, stipendiary magistrate or two justices of the peace, upon the evidence of one credible witness other than the informer or prosecutor, be liable to imprisonment for a period not less than one month nor exceeding six months, with or without hard labor, and be fined not less than fifty nor more than three hundred dollars, with costs of prosecution,—one moiety of the fine to go to the informer or prosecutor, and the other moiety to Her Majesty, to form part of the fund for the benefit of that body of Indians or non-treaty Indians, with respect to one or more members of which the offence was committed: and the commander or person in charge of any steamer or other vessel, or boat, from or on board of which any intoxicant has been sold, bartered, exchanged, supplied or given to any Indian or non-treaty Indian, shall be liable, on conviction thereof before any judge, stipendiary magistrate or two justices of the peace, upon the evidence of one credible witness other than the informer or prosecutor, to be fined not less than fifty nor exceeding three hundred dollars for each such offence, with costs of prosecution,—the moieties of the fine to be applicable as hereinbefore mentioned; and in default of immediate payment of such fine and costs any person so fined shall be committed to any common gaol, house of correction, lock-up, or other place of confinement by the judge, stipendiary magistrate or two justices of the peace before whom the conviction has taken place, for a period of not less than one nor more than six months, with or without hard labor, or until such fine and costs are paid; and any Indian or non-treaty Indian who makes or manufactures any intoxicant, or who has in his possession, or concealed, or who sells, exchanges with, barter, supplies or gives to any other Indian or non-treaty Indian in Canada any kind of intoxicant shall, on conviction thereof, before any judge, stipendiary magistrate or two justices of the peace, upon the evidence of one credible witness other than the informer or prosecutor, be liable to imprisonment for a period of not less than one month nor more than six months, with or without hard labor; and in all cases arising under this section, Indians or non-treaty Indians, shall be competent witnesses: but no penalty shall be incurred in case of sickness where the intoxicant is made use of under the sanction of a medical man or under the directions of a minister of religion.”

Provision is also made for the forfeiture of any keg, barrel, or other receptacle in which such liquor has been contained; and the punishment, by fine or imprisonment, of the Indian or other person in whose possession such keg, &c., may be found.

The Act then goes on to provide that boats or other vessels used in conveying intoxicants, in contravention of this Act, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture; that articles exchanged for intoxicants may be seized and forfeited; that Indians intoxicated may be arrested and imprisoned until sober, and fined, and further punished if they refuse to say from whom they got the intoxicants.

The provision for the enfranchisement of the Indians is important:

“ Whenever any Indian man, or unmarried woman, of the full age of twenty-one years, obtains the consent of the band of which he or she is a member to become enfranchised, and whenever such Indian has been assigned by the band a suitable allotment of land for that purpose, the local agent shall report such action of the band, and the name of the applicant to the Superintendent-General; whereupon the said Superintendent-General, if satisfied that the proposed allotment of land is equitable, shall authorize some competent person to report whether the applicant is an Indian who, from the degree of civilization to which he or she has attained, and the character for integrity, morality and sobriety which he or she bears, appears to be qualified to become a proprietor of land in fee simple; and upon the favorable report of such person, the Superintendent-General may grant such Indian a location ticket as a probationary Indian, for the land allotted to him or her by the band.

Any Indian who may be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, or to any other degree by any University of Learning, or who may be admitted in any Province of the Dominion to practice law either as an Advocate or as a Barrister or Counsellor or Solicitor or Attorney, or to be a Notary Public, or who may enter Holy Orders or who may be licensed by any denomination of Christians as a Minister of the Gospel, shall *ipso facto* become and be enfranchised under this Act.

After the expiration of three years (or such longer period as the Superintendent-General may deem necessary in the event of such Indians's conduct not being satisfactory), the Governor may, on the report of the Superintendent-General, order the issue of letters patent, granting to such Indian in fee simple the land which had with this object in view, been allotted to him or her by location ticket.”

Provision is also made for the payment to the enfranchised Indian of his or her share of the funds at the credit of the band, and it is also ordered that the sections of the Act relating to enfranchisement shall not apply to any band of Indians in the Province of British Columbia, the Province of Manitoba, the North-West Territories, or the Territory of Keewatin, save in so far as the said sections

may, by proclamation of the Governor-General, be from time to time extended, as they may be, to any band of Indians in any of the said Provinces or Territories.

THE NORTH-WEST.

Coming now to the North-West Territories, which are of greater interest at the present time. We have seen the conduct of the authorities towards the Indians nearer home and from it we may gather a fair idea of the course of gradual development which may be expected in those far-off regions. The Dominion of Canada no doubt succeeded to a careful and paternal Government in that country. The North-West Co. and the Hudson's Bay Co., which united in 1821, had charters by which the exclusive right of trade with the Indians in furs was granted them. They represented British authority, and had general jurisdiction in the country. There is little doubt that they might have made much trouble for themselves if their conduct towards the Indians had been marked by injustice or oppression, for we read that the trade was carried on throughout vast regions far from all control of law, and inhabited by savage races numbering about 150,000, divided into 40 or 50 tribes who were very easily prompted to deeds of violence. But the Company took a different course ; they made the most laudable efforts to instruct and civilize, and finding the baneful effects of spirits, which were at first dealt in, they immediately with-held them as an article of trade.

On the Southern border of British Territory, extending from Red River to the Rocky Mountains, there were other tribes more fierce and warlike, subsisting chiefly by the chase of the Buffalo. Amongst the principal tribes were the Assineboines, Piegans, Blackfeet, Blood, Sarsee, and Plain Cree Indians.

In an article that has appeared in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, attributed to a respected citizen of the United States at present residing amongst us, it is contended that the most warlike and self-reliant tribes, the Buffalo-hunters bold and fierce, were residents of the United States, and that on the Canada side the Indians were the gentle and quiet savages of a cold climate and fish diet, mere trappers of musk-rats and beavers, and this is given as one reason for Canada's success with the Indians. No doubt we have had the trappers of musk-rats and beavers, but we think it will be admitted, considering the six Buffalo-hunting tribes just mentioned, that we at least had our share of the latter on the British side to say nothing of an importation from the United States in 1875, of Sioux, to whom we had to give nearly 15,000 acres of our land. These Sioux have behaved well since coming to our Territory, and so have the more recent importation under Sitting Bull up to the present time.

It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the American system of Indian management, or to make any invidious comparisons, but as the article just referred to deals with both Canadian and American systems in their relation to each other it may be permissible to pause here and summarize it in order to give one set of views in regard to the Indian question, quoting afterwards an article from a New York paper which deals with causes and effects from a different point of view, and one from which we have been more in the habit of regarding the matter in this country.

The writer of the article proceeds to argue that the French were more adaptable than the English, and less proud and exacting, mixed more with the natives, and made but little show of taking hold of the country; they erected trading-posts or forts throughout the country which became points of contact between the Colonists and Indians, re-

sulting in a semi-civilization of the latter. In addition, they intermarried, and the short term of a generation was sufficient to establish a race of half-breeds who constituted a link between the new and old races, a natural bond of peace. When the English took Canada they took it as the French had thus made it, and chiefly got the good-will of the Indians in the transfer, of which they availed themselves in the war of the revolution immediately afterwards. The United States on the other hand took all the old English quarrels and ill-will of the Indians off their hands, with the enmity towards them which had grown up under the French *regime* added. They (the United States) had entailed on them the pernicious system of treaties with *tribes* as independent nations, buying sovereignty of them and paying them annuities. Whatever there was of system in the English dealing with the Indians they continued, under the disadvantage of comparison with the French system and with French facilities as practised in Canada. It is true the French had wars with the Indians, but they were with tribes south of the St. Lawrence. Canada has been free from border wars nearly all her existence, whilst the States have had a continued fight of two hundred years. The Hudson's Bay Co. has also been useful in facilitating the management of the Indians of Canada, and the reduction of the Indians of all the older Provinces to civilization has uniformly succeeded a long acquaintance with the whites in trade. At present the Canadians maintain an armed force between the border and the Rocky Mountains, but it is a Mounted Police to govern the Indians, and not an army to protect the frontier. Instead of an army of occupation, which involves a state of war with the savages, as the United States actually have, the Canadians give their armed force the character of a constabulary, which presupposes peace and authority, so that instead of fighting the Indians they are ruling them. There is a prevailing impression that the United States Government is greatly at

fault in dealing with the Indians, and the fact that the Canadians have so little trouble with them has led many to suppose that they have some sovereign method that the States should hasten to adopt, but the truth is that the English are reaping where the French sowed good seed on moderately good ground, whilst the Americans are reaping where the English sowed dragon's teeth on wild soil. The writer goes on to deal with the Indian policy of the two countries, and says that the United States cannot adopt the policy of Canada—even if it were perfect—which it is not, as it will not apply, because one country has to do with a people tame, practical, and at peace ; the other, with numerous tribes of fierce, impracticable, and independent savages at war, and inspired by the spirit of recent battles. “ Before we can manage them ” says the writer, “ their “ tribal organizations must be broken up, their habits of “ life changed, they must be dismounted from their horses, “ and taught the gentler pursuits of herdsmen and led into “ occupations what will sustain them, and remove their “ present inducements to rob and plunder ; they must learn “ to depend upon honest industry and honest traffic, before “ we reach the point where the Canadians have their “ Indians.”

The above is, we think, a fair summary of the arguments advanced. There is no doubt the French did suit themselves more to the ways of the Indians, and their design of occupying the country was not so apparent, except perhaps to the Iroquois, who saw clearly that the French coveted their country to the south of the lakes. The half-breeds too exerted a beneficial influence. Still, the relations between the English colonists and the Iroquois were quite as cordial and sincere as those between the French and their Indians. When the English took Canada they did not immediately obtain the good-will of the Indians, witness the war of Pontiac, but they cultivated that good-will subsequently

with considerable success. The Hudson's Bay Co. have of course been useful in facilitating the management of the Indians of this country, but that company represented British sovereignty, and established wise regulations, the absence of which might have entailed a different state of things. It is not quite correct to say our Mounted Police force is intended to govern the Indians : it is intended to govern both Whites and Indians, the former quite as much as the latter.

No doubt there are deplorable quarrels with, and outrages against the Indian, to be credited to the early colonists, for which the British must take their full share of blame up to the time of the Declaration of Independence, merely feeling thankful that since that era the abuses in the treatment of these original owners of the soil have, like other abuses, passed away ; still on the other hand there is a very strong and widespread opinion that the Indian troubles from which the people of the United States are now suffering are the outcome of " dragon's teeth," sown at a later date than that at which the British were responsible for the management of affairs in that country ; being sown in fact even in our own day by border ruffians and white savages who systematically violate all treaties with the Indians, and by dishonest agents who plunder them. These individuals, after having so exasperated the Indians as to lead them to take up arms against the whole white population, seem to save themselves by leaving the neighbourhood, whilst the U. S. troops, upon arriving and finding the Indians engaged in active hostilities against the white settlers, of course endeavour to punish them, and this is commonly the prelude to a general Indian war, in which valuable lives are lost, and much bitter feeling is engendered amongst the Indians against the Whites, and as a consequence against the Government. The real culprits—those *white savages*, who were the original cause of

the trouble, have in the meantime escaped, and do not seem to suffer any of the serious consequences of the crimes they have committed.

The concluding portion of the article is doubtless correct; it will have to come to this in time. The writer however does not say how the result he portrays is to be arrived at; whether by the law of the sword, or of kindness.

We will now quote an article on this subject from a New York paper reviewing the report of the Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1877, and advocating a remedial system, which is almost identical with that now in force in this country :—

" THE INDIANS AND THEIR TREATMENT.—We have received the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1877, and observe that he has no difficulty in determining the cause of our troubles with the Indians. The cure for them which he prescribes will equally commend itself to the minds of all well-disposed persons. What are his remedies? Here are some of them : A code of laws for the Indian reservations, with an Indian police for their enforcement. The giving of small farms to Indian families, thus fostering industrial habits among them. The introduction among them of the common school system, and the encouragement of missionary work to reclaim them from debasing paganism. A wise economy in feeding and clothing them, that idleness and pauperism may be discouraged and their opposites promoted. Evidently these are the agencies which, if promptly and wisely used, would go far to solve the Indian problem and prevent our periodical wars with the original natives of the soil. Unquestionably it would be well to have good laws and a police force among the Indians, but we are not to forget that the proper enforcement of laws upon the white transgressors who violate our treaties with the red man should be first inaugurated. The man who is severe with his own faults and those of his family will not often be involved in quarrels with neighbors. A proper administration at home always works well outwardly.

Then again the question comes up and will not be silenced: Are we, the party of the first part, although professing to be civilized and educated, more faithful in the observance of contracts and bargains than the Indians? Many will agree with us that disinterested parties would probably render a verdict in favor of the savage. The report says that these men are employed as scouts by the army and found altogether faithful. They can be trusted. As much cannot be said of all white men. The Commissioner repeats a well known fact when saying that adults are less hopeful cases than the younger Indians. We must therefore begin with the young if we would build strongly and permanently, and this glorious work belongs pre-eminently to the churches of America, and should this very year be entered upon with fourfold more teachers and money. The suggestion is made that these people could easily be induced to engage largely in the cattle business, for which many of them exhibit

considerable aptitude. Reading this report we are further impressed with the conviction that all our Indian wars are of our own creation, because of the rascalities and inhumanities, not of all, but of a number of the agents, and nearly all the traders. This is the root of the evil. These traders and agents value the dollars more than human blood. Vigorous justice upon them is an important part of the case, and we suggest that reform in our administration of Indian affairs begin with the white offender. It is a national disgrace that the aborigines of the country are too often left to the tender mercies of haughty and heartless, perhaps licentious army officers and traders. We like to record to the credit of the North American Indian what many of the rising generation may not know, namely, that no Indian ever lifted his arm against the Quakers. Does not this prove beyond all cavil the conciliatory power of honest dealings and kind words. Scornful language and deeds of violence are dangerous boomerangs. They are like the curses that come home to roost. Unprincipled adventures have won some money in the Black Hills and elsewhere, but the nation has to foot big bills as the result of our Indian wars. Have we not gone far enough on that thorny, and costly, and above all, God condemned road?"

The *Chicago Tribune* also pays the following flattering compliment to Canada and its Government:—

"It speaks well for the efficiency of the Canadian system of dealing with Indians that the Government can safely and without protest distribute arms and ammunition among the tribes. In pursuance of a treaty made with the Blackfeet, forty-six of the Chiefs and head men of the tribe have each been furnished a Winchester rifle and 400 cartridges. The United States has not progressed so far as this in the science of getting along smoothly with its Indian wards."*

* NOTE.—Since this paper was written, the following items of information have appeared in the public press, and may well be annexed as illustrating the subject:—

THE PROVOCATIONS TO THE INDIANS.—The *San Francisco Call* of June 23 says: "In a formal interview by some white people, interpreters being present, the Bannock chiefs complain that they have been provoked to hostilities by the lies, frauds and outrages practised on them by their Agent, Reinhart. He made them work, promised them pay, and refused to keep his promises. He 'starved, abused them, and lied to them.' This is all corroborated by Piute witnesses, who are friendly with the whites. Having profited by his frauds and lies, the Agent, well knowing what the consequences would be, saved his own scalp by getting out of the way in time; and now innocent settlers, taken without warning and without any knowledge of the provocation, men, women, and children, scattered over a region twice as large as the State of Ohio, are paying the penalty of the rascally Agent's crimes with their lives and property. Amid the agonizing shrieks of the helpless victims of savage warfare, and the smoke that ascends from their burning houses, the real instigator of the war is obscured from the public eye, and only the Indians are thought of and sought to be punished as the criminals. The frauds and lies of the unprincipled Agent, after causing the cruel sacrifice of scores of innocent lives and some millions to the people and Treasury, will be glossed over and forgotten, and he will never be punished. His success in getting away with some thousands of dollars worth of plunder will encourage other scamps of Agents to imitate his example and cause

But, to return to the North-West. The Dominion Government, on taking over the country proceeded to establish law and order upon a sure and satisfactory foundation, and finding that bands of outlaws from the United States had established posts in these territories, where they sold arms, ammunition and spirituous liquors, and completely demoralized the tribes, the Government established the Mounted Police force, a body which has effectually eradicated the evils complained of, and has obtained, by its good conduct, strict discipline, thorough impartiality, and excellent management, a very high place in the respect and regard of the native tribes. So much so indeed, that as a recent reverend visitor to this province said, life and property are now as safe in that territory as in our largest cities, and perhaps we may add safer than in *some* cities.

One serious difficulty which is looming up in the near future for the Indians of the North-West is the decrease in number of the buffalo. Until lately the Indian could

other tribes to revolt and burn, kill and destroy, as the Bannocks are doing this year, as the Nez Percés did last, as the Sioux did the year before that, and the Cheyennes at an earlier date. It would be a just and wise law that would hang any Indian Agent or Superintendent whose frauds or stealings instigate a tribe to acts of war and murder."

HOW THE INDIANS ARE ROBBED.—A despatch from Fort Thomson, Dakota, dated July 11th, says Indian Commissioner Hoyt dropped on the Crow Agency on that date without notice. He obtained the books and papers of Indian Inspector Hammond, and discovered frauds and robbery unheard of even in Indian Agencies. Dr. Livingston is Agent at Crow Creek, and he and agent Craven at Cheyenne, and Gregory, at Lower Brule, have been conspirators together. The robberies of the Indians are traced back to 1870. They built a hotel at the Government's expense, and supplied it with beef, potatoes, milk, grain and hay from the Government warehouse. Livingston was a partner with Indian trader Hudson, whom he supplied with Indian Goods, which were sold to the Indians; he drew pay and rations for three hundred Indians more than were at his agency. Livingston owns a controlling interest in three silver mines in Nevada, about all the real property in Yankton, and has gratified his piety by presenting stained glass windows and marble fonts to churches. His agency as well as the others, have been seized. The ring threaten Hammond's life for exposing them. Gen. Hammond has superseded the agents at Crow Creek, Brule and Cheyenne by army officers.

count upon a practically unlimited supply of food from the immense herds of these animals which roamed over the prairie, and their skins were also very valuable to him both for his own use in various ways, and for purposes of traffic. For the last ten years, however, the numbers of the buffalo have been steadily diminishing, partly owing to indiscriminate slaughter on the part of the Whites and Half-breeds, and it is calculated that in another decade of years, unless prompt remedial measures are taken, the buffalo, as a source of supply of food, will be extinct. The Indians, to whom the buffalo hitherto has been indispensable, naturally regard this state of affairs with great alarm, and ask how they are to find subsistence when the buffalo is destroyed? His Honor Lieut.-Governor Morris recommended that a few simple regulations be made relating to the hunting and killing of the buffalo, and in this way he was satisfied that the herds could be preserved for many years, and we believe legislative action has been already taken on this subject. There seems however to be no doubt that wise precautions of this nature will only delay, not prevent, the ultimate extinction of the buffalo, and the authorities recognize the importance of preparing the native tribes for the time when unfortunately this result will supervene. This can only be done by encouraging the Indians to turn their attention to agriculture and other industrial pursuits, and it is satisfactory that as a rule they seem to be very desirous of obtaining the knowledge necessary to enable them to do so to advantage. His Honor Governor Morris, than whom we shall not desire better authority, states in speaking of the Indians of the Saskatchewan that "he was surprised to find so great a willingness on the part of the Indians to cultivate the soil, and "so great a desire to have their children instructed. The "Indians are tractable and docile: the universal demand "is for teachers, and for persons to instruct them how to "cultivate the ground and to build houses." In Manitoba

the Indians have in several instances commenced the cultivation of the soil, and built houses for themselves.

There have been six treaties made between our Government and the Indians of the North-West, and if we note with satisfaction the confidence and evident good-will with which the latter entered into the treaties, we cannot but admire also the just and conciliatory spirit exhibited by the former in negotiating them.

Treaty No. 1 with the Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians was made on 3rd August, 1871. By it these tribes made over to Her Majesty and her successors for ever a certain tract of land specially designated, and Her Majesty agrees and undertakes to lay aside and reserve for the sole and exclusive use of the Indians certain other tracts, sufficient to furnish 160 acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families. Her Majesty binds herself to maintain a school on each reserve when desired by the Indians, and to exclude intoxicating liquor.

" And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of Her Indians, parties to this Treaty, She hereby, through Her Commissioner, makes them a present of five dollars for each Indian man, woman and child belonging to the Bands here represented.

Her Majesty's Commissioner shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this Treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the District above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof, at some period during the month of July, in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at or near the respective reserves, pay to each Indian family of five persons the sum of fifteen dollars Canadian currency, or in like proportion for a larger or smaller family, such payment to be made in such articles as the Indians shall require of Blankets, clothing, prints (assorted colors), twine or traps, at the current cost price in Montreal, or otherwise, if Her Majesty shall deem the same desirable in the interests of Her Indian people, in cash.

And the undersigned Chiefs do hereby bind and pledge themselves and their people strictly to observe this Treaty, and to maintain perpetual peace between themselves and Her Majesty's white subjects, and not to interfere with the property or in any way molest the persons of Her Majesty's white or other subjects.

In witness whereof Her Majesty's said Commissioner and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hand and seal, at the Lower Fort Garry, this day and year herein first above mentioned."

Here follow the names.

Treaty No. 2, made on 21st August, 1871, with the Chippewa Tribe, is similar in purport to the foregoing.

Treaty No. 3, ratified on 3rd October, 1873, with the Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, to the number of about 2,700, cedes a certain described tract of land embracing an area of about 55,000 square miles, and reserves are set apart in the proportion of one square mile to each family of five. Twelve dollars are presented to each man, woman, and child, in extinguishment of all claims preferred, and after a census has been taken Five Dollars are to be paid yearly to each Indian person, and fifteen hundred dollars are also to be annually expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the Indians.

The Indians are still to have the right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered subject to regulations, and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required for settlement, &c., by the Dominion Government or any of the subjects thereof duly authorized.

" It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any Band of said Indians who are now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say—two hoes for every family actually cultivating; also one spade per family as aforesaid; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid; one scythe for every family as aforesaid; and also one axe and one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, one augur for each Band, and also for each Chief for the use of his Band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also for each Band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such Band; also for each Band, one yoke of oxen, one bull and four cows; all the aforesaid articles to be given once for all for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is FURTHER AGREED between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once in every three years, a suitable suit of clothing; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or Whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, this day and year herein first above-named."

Treaty No. 4 was concluded on 15th September, 1874, between Her Majesty represented by Her Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, the Hon. David Laird, then Minister of the Interior, and William Joseph Christie, Esq., of Brockville and the Cree, Saulteaux, and other Indians, inhabitants of certain territory therein defined. The provisions of this treaty are similar to the foregoing.

By treaty No. 5, made at Berens' River, 20th September, and at Norway House, on 24th September, 1875, the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes cede a certain tract of territory embracing an area of one hundred thousand square miles, more or less. The provisions are similar to those of the other treaties, with certain slight exceptions.

Treaty No. 6 was made on 23rd and 28th August, and on 9th September, 1876, respectively, with the Plain and Wood Cree Indians and other tribes at Fort Carleton, Fort Pitt, and Battle River. Reserves to the extent of one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion, are set aside, and some of the other provisions are even more onerous to Canada than those of the foregoing

treaties. The territory included in this treaty is approximately estimated to contain 120,000 square miles.

The Dominion has by these treaties acquired nearly the whole of the territory within the fertile belt, and for some distance North of it; in fact all the lands East of the Rocky Mountains with the exception of a small district of about 35,000 square miles inhabited by the Blackfeet Indians, about 4,000 souls. These Indians are anxious for a treaty to be made with them.* In regard to these Blackfeet, the departmental report says:—"It would appear that "the Blackfeet, who some twelve or fifteen years ago numbered upwards of ten thousand souls, and were then remarkable as a warlike and haughty nation, have within "the last decade of years been greatly demoralized, and reduced by more than one-half their number—partly in "consequence of the poisoned fire-water introduced into "the territory by American traders, partly by the murderous acts of lawless men from the American territory, and "partly by the terrible scourge of the Red man, small-pox, "which in 1870 caused great havoc among the Indians in "this region."

The Indians embraced under these six treaties number 17,754.

The expenditure in Manitoba and the North-West by the Dominion Government during the year ending 30th June, 1876, was \$203,295, against \$223,525 appropriated.

The Indians are gradually settling on the grounds allotted to them, and are commencing to understand the necessity of devoting themselves to agricultural pursuits, and in some instances considerable progress in this direction has already been made; the proximity of White settlements is

* A treaty with these Blackfeet has, we believe, been negotiated since the date of the departmental report now in our hands.

also of advantage, in that they can supply themselves on the same terms as other inhabitants of the Province with any articles they may require, and can also find a ready market for the products of the Hunt and of their Fishing.

In 1875 the Sioux Indians coming from the United States were, after due consideration, allowed reserves of 80 acres to every five persons, and tracts of country were accordingly surveyed at the mouth of Oak River comprising 7,936 acres, and at Bird Tail River near Fort Ellice comprising 6,885 acres, with which the Indians interested seemed to be well pleased, and at once started their gardens and commenced the construction of their dwellings.

Since this these Sioux have less frequently visited the settlements of the Western part of the Province, where their presence was always the subject of complaints, owing to their begging and thieving propensities, and it is considered that once they get accustomed to living on their reserve, and cultivating the ground, all reason for complaint against them will have disappeared. In regard to these Indians Lieut.-Governor Morris in his report says:—"I am sanguine that this settlement will prove a success, as these Sioux are displaying a laudable industry in cutting hay for their own use and for sale, and in breaking up ground for cultivation."

Another addition of Sioux to the Indian population of that country has recently taken place, being those who have sought refuge there under Sitting Bull. In some quarters the Dominion was promised much trouble and annoyance from these Indians, but so far they have conducted themselves very peaceably and quietly, expressing their admiration for the British, their desire to settle down in the country, and their determination to obey the laws in every respect. Indeed it is wonderful what an ascendancy the officers of the Mounted Police have apparently obtained over them, and it is noteworthy that if they profess im-

explicit confidence in British impartiality, Major Walsh and his officers seem also to repose some considerable confidence in their protestations. It is true we have had a report within the past few days that Sitting Bull is endeavouring to stir up a feeling amongst the Blackfeet against the Whites in connection with the Buffalo Protection Act, but it is since said that this report has been started by the Half-breeds who are enraged at the Police for preventing them from exterminating the Buffalo. Sitting Bull and his band may yet give trouble, but no one in Canada doubts that if they should transgress the impartial laws under the protection of which they are now living, they would be sharply and effectually dealt with, even if it should require another Manitoban expedition under a second Colonel (now Sir Garnet) Wolseley to do it. And there is also reason to believe that in such an event the Indians of the North-West would, to a large extent, stand by the British and Canadian Governments, as it will be remembered that in 1875 the Blackfeet before alluded to were invited by the Sioux from the American side to join them in warring against the Whites, a proposition which they readily declined, and for so doing received the thanks of the Queen, who directed that they should be officially informed of her gratification at this evidence of their loyalty and attachment. However, it is more than likely that Sitting Bull's band, as well as any other band who may find themselves in that country, will appreciate too highly the laws in force, to lightly violate them.

The length of this paper forbids our noticing, otherwise than superficially, the British Columbia Indians. Suffice it to say they are described as a hardy, industrious race ; those of the interior being extensive owners of stock, and having considerable agricultural knowledge, and those on the coast being expert fishermen, and many of them very comfortably off, though much given to gambling. Ar-

rangements as to reserves will have to be made with them similar to those made in Manitoba.

We must not omit to state that missionaries are now also doing a good work among the Indians in the North-West and elsewhere, and rapidly extending their influence.

One or two extracts from reports may now be appended in closing:—

Lieut.-Governor Morris in his report says:—

“If the measures suggested by me are adopted, viz.,
“effective regulations with regard to the buffalo, the
“Indians taught to cultivate the soil, and the erratic half-
“breeds encouraged to settle down, I believe that the solu-
“tion of all social questions of any present importance in
“the North-West Territories will have been arrived at.”

Speaking of the Mounted Police he says:—

“The conduct of the men was excellent, and the pre-
“sence of the force as an emblem and evidence of the
“establishment of authority in the North-West was of
“great value.”

Commission Reid in his report says:—

“I would here mention that previous to my departure
“from Norway House there was a very hearty and appa-
“rently sincere expression of gratitude, on the part of all
“the Indians present, for the liberality extended to them,
“and a general and spoken wish that their thanks be con-
“veyed to the Queen’s Representative in this Province for
“his kind interest in their welfare.”

And Commissioner Dickieson says:—

“Besides the Sioux Chiefs, White Cap and Standing Buffalo, who have now lived on our territory for some years, I met at Qu’Appelle a delegation of Sioux from the United States. * * * They expressed the most perfect confidence in the British Government, and their desire always to be on good terms with those who lived on this side of the boundary line; a state of things which has resulted from the manner in which their ancestors were treated, and the report of which has been handed down from father to son for several generations.”

In conclusion, we see in the North West an immense tract of country, peopled by savage and warlike races, with as yet a small white population, and almost the only representatives of armed authority a handful of Mounted Police. What is it that makes the native tribes so tractable and docile that life and property may now be considered safe? Is it the knowledge that behind the Mounted Police there is force sufficient to crush out all disorder? Is it the prestige of British authority as represented by its army? Partly so no doubt, but not altogether. The reason is to be ascribed rather to equitable laws and generous treatment, and in these respects the Canadian Government is raising up in that vast country a monument to British authority that shall endure for all time, a monument in which strict justice forms the base, kindness the shaft, and the whole power of the British Empire the capital overlooking and adorning the rest. These, and these alone are the secret of the success of British authority in the North-West.

EMERSON, THE THINKER,

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY ON THURSDAY EVENING,
9TH JANUARY, 1879

BY

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.,

**Author of "Canada under the Administration of the Earl
of Dufferin", etc.**

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

SOME of you, doubtless, remember seeing a print, issued a few years ago, which represented a literary party at Washington Irving's. In the centre of the group sat the author of "Rip Van Winkle," while around him stood and sat the prominent pen men of his time. You have seen hanging on many walls, engravings of a picture which grew out of the imagination of a great painter, entitled "Shakespeare and his friends," and a few of you, perhaps, are familiar with the grand canvas which seems so endowed with life, and which exhibits, with wonderful fidelity, the hard features of the autocratic Johnson, the plastic face of the mercurial Sheridan, the classic front of Burke, the inspired head of the warm-hearted Goldsmith, and the tragic countenance of the player Garrick. One cannot look upon pictures like these without feeling proud of the age which gave birth to such men; men who have been the moulders of thought in their day, and whose works have come down to us through the long decades of time. It is the literature of a country which tells us of her progress and civilization. The letters of a nation reveal to us in unmistakable language, the culture and social and political advancement of her people.

I will ask you this evening to look upon an ideal canvas which contains the portraits of a few modern literary worthies who have cast a lustre upon these times, and whose labours have enriched the age in which we live. I will ask you to imagine, if you can, another group. Some of the faces you see, you will recognize, for you have looked upon them in the Irving engraving. Others will be new to you for they have grown great, since Mr. Bryant spoke his eloquent tribute to the memory of the author of "The Sketch Book" and "Bracebridge Hall." Look! upon the startling, breathing canvas. Look! upon the figures which burst into form and grow into life!

This is Longfellow, the gentle poet who has sung for us the ever graceful, ever tuneful *Evangeline*, that story which winds itself around every heart, and which is so dear to every Acadian youth and maiden, that tearful story of the expulsion of the French, which, you remember, a Canadian told to Hawthorne, in the hope that a romance might be made out of it. You know the history of the poem; how Hawthorne gave the idea to Longfellow as he was sitting one day in his study in old Cambridge; how the poet took it up, and in a few days finished the poem in that curious hexameter measure, which Longfellow feared would destroy its popularity. You remember his letter to Procter whom he asked not to reject the poem on account of its metre, which he said could be written in no other way without changing its character completely. You have heard how delighted Hawthorne was when the poem was read to him, and you know, of course, that the poet himself has never beheld the quiet Village of Grand Pré, which his pen has so skilfully described. This is Longfellow in his 72nd year, with white hair and beard, but with eye bright and full of lustre.

This other form, on the poet's right, is the Quaker bard of New England, who has nearly turned his 71st year.

He too, is grey, and though he looks at you with a sternlike expression, almost approaching to severity, he is the kindest of all the poets of our day. Using the conventional *Thee* and *Thou* upon all occasions in his talk and in his letters, he carefully eschews them in his poetry. He is the great anti-slavery apostle, the firm friend of the coloured race, the life-long companion of William Lloyd Garrison, and the orator Wendell Phillips. His best days were spent in behalf of the slave, and the grandest of his lyrics and idyls breathe out his love for freedom and his abhorrence of oppression and tyranny.

There stands the translator of Homer, whose venerable head is said to resemble closely the blind Greek's, with white hair and patriarchal beard, and piercing eye that seems to look into a man as if it could read his very soul, and interpret his slightest thought. This is the author of "Thanatopsis," that great poem which startled mankind years before Tennyson wrote a line of poetry, and long before Byron's death was whispered in London; a poem which was written when its author had scarcely reached his 18th year. This is Bryant, aged 83, whose death, last June, has left a blank which is still unfilled. It was only the other day, it seems, that he wrote his graceful sonnet to the memory of the historian of the Netherlands—John Lothrop Motley—and his "Flood of Years," by many esteemed his best work, was written scarcely three years ago. What a privilege the old poet has enjoyed! He lived in two centuries. He saw the old school of poetry pass away, and he witnessed the dawn of the new. For 60 years and more he was the intimate of the great ones, who, in the two hemispheres, have led thought, and scholarship and song. And in his turn, he became a leader himself in all three. He wrote creditable stanzas ere the fanciful Shelley died, and his name rang through the four quarters of the globe long before Coleridge had ceased to write.

The contemporary of Moore, of Sheridan, of Wordsworth, of Keats, the Howitts, the Lambs, DeQuincey and William Hazlitt, the companion of Irving, of Cooper, of Cole and of Fitz-Greene Halleck, he saw many a poet blossom into song, live his brief life and silently pass away to the other world. He read the wonderful creations of Scott as they came fresh from the press. He published a volume of poems before the present laureate of England was born, and a second edition of his poetry appeared when Longfellow was a babe of scarcely a year old. He began life early, and as a child was as precocious as Macaulay, and as eager to read as Whipple, who knew the "Citizen of the World" before he was six.

This one to Bryant's left is the ever joyous, ever charming, ever sparkling Ho'mes, the autocrat, professor and poet of every breakfast table in the land, the delight of our firesides, the Addison of our day. Lowell compares him to a full-charged Leyden-Jar. None can chat more pleasantly than he. None can tell you so much in as little space, as Holmes. Below the medium height, and almost beardless, he stands a man of 69. None surpass him in scholarly ability, readiness of repartee, playfulness of humour or vigor of mind.

Next to Holmes stands the poet and critic Lowell, who, you know, has recently been sent by his government to Spain as Minister at the Court of Madrid. Observe well the wealth of intelligence in Lowell's face. He it was who wrote the crisp and natty "Biglow Papers"—those bright satires, which in their time, aroused so much political and social excitement. He is hardly 60 years old, and to look at him you would think him younger even than that. Famed as a critic, he is equally distinguished as a poet and humorist. Few men now living possess his keen analytical power. Few equal his capacity and strength.

The tall gentleman who is sitting by that little table, near the window, has a Canadian as well as an American reputation. An historian of splendid attainments, he, a few months ago, published a fresh volume—"Frontenac"—and in that book we have a complete account of the distinguished French Governor's life in Canada. This is Francis Parkman—a great name in literature, a true Canadian at heart—and the author of no less than eight volumes of history, a charming book on the rose, and one novel.

This is Curtis, the polished and polite editor of "Harper's Magazine", as dainty in his young days—and he is not very old now—as Nathaniel Willis was when he called on that strong-minded woman Martineau.

Standing by him, chatting agreeably, is Edward Everett Hale, the acute observer who wrote, you remember, some years since, that odd thing which everybody believed to be truth at first, called "The Man without a Country"—ill-fated Philip Nolan.

This is Whipple. Many of you have seen him doubtless, for he has lectured often in Canada. He is a critic of excellent taste. Hawthorne used to say he liked to read Whipple's opinions and criticisms, even when they disagreed with his own, because they were so honest and just, Macaulay, too, recognized his originality and culture and superior talents. His face seems to tell you how full of fun he is, how full of dry and shrewd observation. Whipple never cuts up a book, as Jeffrey used to, for the mere love of saying sharp and spiteful things.

The old gentleman who is sitting a little behind Professor Lowell, and immediately below that speaking portrait of Henry Thoreau, the Hermit of Walden, which is hanging on the wall, is Bronson Alcott, the mystic teacher of Con-

cord. Age sits lightly upon his brow. He is nearly four score, and a year ago last September witnessed a further volume of *Table Talk* from his pen. He is the father of the brilliant Alcott girls: May, the artist, whose paintings have won the admiration of that severe art critic John Ruskin, and Louisa, whose charming "Little Women" and "Little Men" are lovingly treasured in many households.

And this one, with "beard scarce silvered," is James T. Fields, poet and publisher, of whom Whittier has said:

" He knew each living pundit well,
Could weigh the gifts of him or her,
And well the market value tell
Of Poet and Philosopher."

Truly, we are in famous company to-night, for these are the illustrious contemporaries of that strange, quizzical looking gentleman, whom you may observe busying himself with looking after the comfort of his guests, in his old-fashioned home, in Concord, which nestles behind a perfect bower of beautiful elms. This is Emerson aged 75, philosopher, poet, essayist. Look well at him, for he will engage a good deal of your attention to-night. Notice the impersonal grey eyes, the mouth which seems to reveal his every thought, even before he speaks, the smile which, now and then, plays so lambently over his face. His home is situated on the old Concord and Boston turnpike road, a mile away from the railroad station. You pass it on the way to Mr. Alcott's house, once the residence of Robert Hagburn, the early lover and at last the husband of Rose Garfield, of whom you have read in Hawthorne's posthumous romance. A little behind Alcott's is the famous Hawthorne House, the home of "Septimius Felton," a two-story house, gabled before, but with only two rooms on a floor, crowded upon by the hill behind a house strongly built with great thick walls; such a house, indeed, as you would expect to find as the dwel-

ling of a man who believed, as the romancer's hero believed, that he was destined to live forever. This curious old house is fast losing its charm. The wide walls never reveal now the secrets which they heard long ago. All is closed to the novelist. No more are the tall stairs climbed by the weird magician, who so often climbed them to the square tower-room, where he passed so many quiet days in that seclusion which he sometimes loved. The house is now a girls' school, and the poetry of the place is fast departing.

Mr. Emerson's habits are very plain and homely. He is politic and though somewhat idealistic, as you may discover from reading his essays, yet no man living is fuller of common sense, and knowledge of the ways of the world. He does most of his literary work in the morning, and begins immediately after breakfast. You will seldom find him writing later than noon. He composes slowly, and considers thoughtfully every word which he uses. He is full of anecdote and story, and his pages show the result of extensive reading and acute observation. Few men have the faculty which he enjoys, of condensing thought and of imparting information. It is a study to sit before him and watch the growth of ideas as they come fresh from his mind. He seems to evolve them from his brain until they grow symmetrical and perfect and beautiful. Even an old idea appears new when clothed in the warm Emersonian garb. He develops his subject until it grows under his hand. It is bright in the gorgeous colouring it receives. It is strong in a marked individuality and tone. You read the speeches of Chatham, of Burke, and of Canning; you listen to the orations of Choate, of Webster, "the God-like Daniel," and of Phillips; at school you learn the story of Demosthenes and of Cicero, but if you would know what eloquence and true oratory are, you must read the interpretation of them as formulated by Emerson. So with

"Greatness," so with "Heroism," so with the passion "Love," so with "Art," "Beauty," "Nature," and "Poetry." If you would understand all these, turn over the pages of the Thinker, and realize how little you knew of them before. Sir Walter Scott has told you of the greatness of Napoleon, Mr. Abbott has given you a warm-colored if not quite correct life of the little Corporal who overran Europe with his splendid and slaughtering armies, but Emerson tells you something about Napoleon, the man of the world, which makes you wonder at the incisive and intuitive skill of the critic who has something new and original to say about everything and everybody. You would think after Addison and Macaulay, after Guizot and Goethe, after Hazlitt and the thousand other scholars who have written so many chapters and books about the "Sweet swan of Avon," that there was little left for mortal man to say about him. But almost defiantly the seer of Concord takes down his pen and unravels from that full-charged and teeming brain of his, a perfect masterpiece of acute criticism on Shakespeare viewed as a poet. You cannot help wondering how it is that he can find so many things untouched by his predecessors, masters as they were in their special art. But why need I enumerate? His works stand fitting exponents of his power and culture.

You might think, perhaps, that inasmuch as his essays are, for the most part, on such subjects as "The over soul," "Immortality," "Plato—the Philosopher," "Worship," "Culture," "Behavior," and kindred topics, that they would be rather dry reading, with barely a light bit, now and then, to relieve them. But this is a mistake. Emerson has a rare fund of humour, and a delicious relish for a jest. Scattered all through his writings, even in his profounder articles, there are flashes of playful humour, and often quaint bits of good-natured satire. It is Emerson who tells the story of the Sultan who looked in the glass

and seeing how ugly he was, began to weep. A courtier standing near began to weep also, and continued to do so long after the Sultan was consoled. At last his master inquired the occasion of this excessive sorrow, since he, himself, who was the ugly man, had been to able stop his lamentations. But the courtier answered: "If thou hast only seen thy face once, and at once seeing hast not been able to contain thyself, but hast wept, what should we do—we who see thy face every day and night? If *we* weep not, who should weep? Therefore have I wept."

In illustration of the humorous side of his character, there is this somewhat characteristic anecdote. Miss Elizabeth Peabody—a zealous apostle of the Kindergarten schools, in Boston, once called on Mr. Emerson at his home, and soon became very much animated in a discussion on Berkeley's doctrine, that matter had no actual existence, and that spirtual entities are the only realities. She did her best to convince the philosopher of the truth and value of this theory. Emerson listened respectfully to the animated talk of the lady, when, on looking up, he observed through his window, a load of wood being driven into his yard. It distracted his attention for a minute or two, but as he wished to be very polite—he paid no heed to it and continued listening to his guest's conversation, until he chanced to see the waggon passing into the yard. Though loth to interrupt her, he arose and said he must be excused a moment, as he wished to direct the man where to unload the wood; then he added with a smile and a twinkle in his eye: "You know things must be looked after, although they do not exist."

At another time when a committee waited on him for a lecture, one of the gentlemen asked him his terms. "Oh well," said he, "when I lecture in Boston I charge one hundred dollars, when I lecture in Worcester my charge is

seventy-five dollars. In Salem I get fifty dollars, and when I come to your town I will charge say—\$30, and if that is too much, the people may pay me what they choose; I want to be easy." Mrs. Emerson, who was present, spoke up and said, "Yes, I think Mr. Emerson is altogether too easy." "Oh, but," said Emerson to the gentleman, "you must not tell that to your people. Tell them I am a tough old fellow."

He lectured once to an audience of farmers in the West. The next year he was asked again to the same town, because, the committee said, though he was pretty dull, he seemed to have a good many good ideas, and it was worth while encouraging such men, now and then.

"The world is soon coming to an end," cried an excited Millerite to him one day. "Is it," said Emerson, "then we will just have to try and get along without it."

Emerson seldom speaks publicly without notes, which are usually made on small scraps of paper. Sometimes these loose pages get misplaced, but such an accident does not disturb him in the least. He very deliberately and with admirable nerve, proceeds to gather up his papers, look them calmly over, and when they are all right again, he turns to his audience and goes on with his address or lecture. He is serene and composed through it all—through what many would consider a very trying and painful ordeal. He loves to talk in a friendly way before a company, and it is to these "talks" that we are indebted for many of the finest things which afterwards get into his essays, in a somewhat more elaborate form. The excellent paper on "Books." is the outgrowth of one of these informal *conversazioni*. He chats with delightful freedom about the greater and lesser books of the world, and tells us what we should read and what we should avoid. He prefers good translations of the old masters of literature, in many

instances, to the originals. Much valuable time, he considers, is lost in reading the latter. He likes to be beholden to the “great Metropolitan English speech, the sea which receives tributaries from every region under heaven.” Three rules he lays down for our guidance. They are briefly, first, “never read any book that is not a year old,” second, “never read any but famed books,” third, “never read any but what you like.”

Harriet Martineau—a jealous and masculine woman, once said of the wonderfully gifted Margaret Fuller, that she was, in her young days, the most intolerable girl that ever took a seat in a drawing-room. And Emerson, when he first met her,—more advanced in years and in the full possession of her marvellous faculties,—said that he was instantly repelled and his first thought was, that he could never like her. Margaret Fuller was, in her time, the best educated woman in New England, I might almost say, in the world. Her father was a lawyer, and a man much given to study. He eagerly crammed his daughter with knowledge, so much so indeed, that her mind thrived at the expense of her body. Her physical energies decreased as those of her mind increased. She read French and German at an age when other girls were yet in their doll-days. She grew up, naturally, with a high idea of her own intellectual calibre. She saw how superior she was, mentally, to all her companions. She was vain of her attainments, and made no scruple of talking of her own abilities to all who listened to her. Once she said, and this was in her middle age, “I now know all the people worth knowing in America, and I find no intellect comparable to my own.” She studied every character she met, and those who saw her for the first time felt uneasy in her presence. She was haughty, cold, uncongenial and repellent. She was all head and no heart before strangers. But when Margaret Fuller thawed out, and acquaintance ripened into friendship,

you forgot that you had ever disliked her, or that she was proud and overbearing. You felt that you were in the presence of no ordinary woman. All feeling of uncomfortableness vanished as you listened to the conversation of this most brilliant talker of her day Coleridge and DeQuincey alone excepted. It was her custom to entertain the brightest and most intellectual men and woman of her time, at evening and morning talks. She founded a Club in Boston, in 1839,—a sort of conversation class for women, and all of these talks were of the richest character and scope. Sometimes she would do most of the talking herself, at others she would start the topic, and watch the turn of the conversation, and when it showed signs of flagging or grew less animated, like a skilful commander she brought up her reserves and plunging into the engagement herself, the talk again became vigourous and active. The discourses were generally upon themes likely to awaken thought, and kindle into life such subjects as were dear to the heart of this seemingly inspired lady. It is worth considering the influence which she exercised over her converts, and the way in which she enlisted to her support such minds as Emerson, Hawthorne, Ripley, Alcott and Curtis. Even Harriet Martineau learned to like her afterwards;—that is she liked her as much, probably, as she could ever like anybody. Margaret Fuller possessed no personal attractions whatever. She rarely smiled. There was little in her manner calculated to win men and women to her side, and as she grew in years she became more and more unprepossessing in appearance. It was to the vastness of her intellectual powers alone that scholars everywhere bowed. It was her culture which won Mr. Emerson, and made him aver that he was every day more and more surprised at the range and grasp of her genius. The writings of this lady reveal a tenderness and pathos, which only her own immediate friends knew she possessed. Strangers always misunderstood her. With her

great contemporary Emerson it is different. In personal life people are drawn towards him by the loveliness of his disposition and the sweetness of his character. His writings, perhaps, seem to some a little cold at first. It is only when you have learned how to read them that you enjoy the massive grandeur of his thought and the harmonious beauty of his periods. Johnson, you remember, learned to love Thomson's poetry by skipping every other line. From the primer to Emerson is a wide stretch. You must read many books before you can venture on the perusal of a single sentence. He has none of the affectation of Carlyle, none of the harsh ruggedness of Hume, of whom Horne Tooke once said that he wrote his history, as the witches said their prayers—backwards, nor has he the callous insincerity of Jeffrey, but you are struck with the singularity of his manner, the oddness of his thought, and his frigid way of stating the simplest fact. His chief fault is the glittering coldness, the almost Grecian manner of his style, which obtains in the more profound of his writings. It is only the few who have discovered how many quotable things abound in his works—as many as you find in George Eliot or Holmes. To understand him aright you must first master his peculiarities of diction, and when you have accomplished that you have done a fair day's work. A great scholar once bought Emerson's essays at a book stall, and then he went home to enjoy them. The next day he bought a copy of Webster's Dictionary. He was not to be baffled. Armed thus he went to work in earnest, and after a time he succeeded in fully mastering his author. This was the eminent Herman Grimm whose writings some of you have doubtless read. Mr. Grimm began wrong. He attacked the heavy artillery when he should have made his onslaught on Emerson's musketry corps, or calvary brigade. He should have begun with the lectures, those poetic and popularized addresses which were especially prepared for Lyceum audiences. Beginning with these he

could have worked up with his author until he reached the purple clouds. Arriving there he would know just where he was. After you are familiar with your Latin grammar you had better take up *Dilectus*. Horace can wait a term or two.

Comparisons have been drawn between Carlyle and Emerson. It is averred that a strong similarity of mind exists between these two master-reasoners of this century. It has been hinted that Emerson has borrowed occasionally some of the sage of Chelsea's ideas and better thoughts. This is not so. Anyone who has ever read a page of these Thinkers will yield that. Both men are sincere and earnest. Both possess powerful resources of mind, and both are highly cultured. Both are independent. In some general way perhaps, they think alike, that is they hold certain ideas in common, but so do Matthew Arnold and Max Muller, and the breath of suspicion has never been uttered against them. Neither of them can tolerate cant, hypocrisy, bigotry nor charlatanism. They both manfully uphold the truth and love the grand and myriad works of Nature. All through his writings Emerson says noble things about Carlyle and his work, and Carlyle in his turn not only edited the English edition of Emerson but he prefaced one volume with these generous words: "Here comes our brave Emerson with *news* from the Empyrean." Carlyle hates a sham, and he never would have written that line if he did not believe heartily in Emerson and his teachings.

In 1833, on his return from a tour in Sicily, Italy and France, Emerson visited the Thinker of Ecclefechan, who was then regarded as the latest and strongest contributor to the English critical journals. In that same year he had met Wordsworth, the vivacious DeQuincey, Landor and the transcendentalist Coleridge. It was to see these five

authors that Emerson, who is by no means a good traveller, crossed the Atlantic Ocean. The only other man, he cared to see since Scott was dead, was the Iron Duke, and he saw him some time afterward at the funeral of Wilberforce. The young poet was in splendid frame to see the men who had won renown and his own admiration and esteem, by their writings. He had just come from Florence and Rome, where he had paced the galleries and walked the studios of the painters and sculptors. His susceptible mind had taken in all that was grand and imposing in those magnificent museums which contain all that generations of sculptors and painters have left for the admiration and wonder and instruction of the world. He met Horatio Greenough—a scu'ptor then fast rising into fame—at Florence, and with him he inspected the gorgeous triumphs of the chisel and the pencil. One can imagine the effect which a visit to Italy would have upon a mind like Emerson's. His intuitive eye saw only the perfections of art, and he lingered long and lovingly over the masterpieces of Angelo, of Raffael, of Perugino, of John of Bologna, and of others of like fame and name. He had just given up his Church and parted in sadness with his congregation. He turned therefore with relief to the beautiful things which met his eye, in this historic birthplace of all that is enduring and noble in art, in poetry and in song. Landor was in Italy then, and Emerson spent many hours with him. You can imagine how delicious these talks must have been. They talked of Washington, whom the author of the "Imaginary Conversations", greatly admired, of Byron, whose fame was then spreading far and wide into the remotest nooks and corners of the world, of Wordsworth the old poet of Rydal Mount and a Laker, of the playwrights Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, whose writings are highly prized but seldom read. Montaigne, whom Emerson venerated as the apple of his eye, Landor could or would not praise. Mackintosh the reviewer, another favorite of

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Emerson's, Landor did not like, and so on through the long list, Landor did not fail to express himself strongly and warmly when the occasion needed. Emerson found him living in a cloud of pictures, in a fine house overlooking a far-stretching landscape. He was courteous and did not at all bear out the reputation which Emerson had formed of him from the anecdotes he had heard and the stories which had been told about him. He felt, however, that he was despotic and apt to be violent, but in spite of all this none knew better how to write elegantly and well, and for wisdom, wit and imagination, he was the favourite of all scholars and the readers of scholarly literature. There was still too much of the bluff soldier in his nature however.

From Italy Emerson went to England and there he saw Coleridge, whom he found taking snuff. He was a short thick old man, with bright blue eyes and a fine clear complexion. He had read a good many books that had been printed in America, and some of these he admired exceedingly. He spoke favorably of Allston, the poet, whom we know better, perhaps, on account of his paintings. Coleridge knew of them too, for he had met the artist in Rome, and had thought him a master of the true Titianesque. He spoke of Doctor Channing and regretted the religious turn in his life, which had developed into Unitarianism. He told Emerson, among other interesting things, of the extraordinary skill of Montague, the picture dealer who could determine the age of a picture by merely passing his hand over its surface.

Wordsworth, Emerson saw in August. He was then a plain white-haired old man, not prepossessing in appearance, and the great green goggles which he wore did not at all improve his looks. He talked simply and with much freedom. Of course the conversation turned on books and the writers of them. The old poet was quite vigorous in

denouncing and abusing Goeth's masterpiece. What would he say if he were living to-day, to find Joseph Cook ranking it the chief of the six great novels in the world? Carlyle, Wordsworth thought was insane on some points. He considered him clever and deep but obscure. Coleridge he thought, wrote in a way not always understood. He recited some new sonnets to Emerson, which he had just finished, and you may be sure the recital gave the young man both pleasure and surprise. Of his own poems he preferred those which touched on the affections, rather than the more didactic, which he thought would perish while the others would live. He esteemed higher than any of his writings the sonnet which he wrote "On the feelings of a high-minded Spaniard." This and "The two Voices," he quoted rather lovingly.

The interview with Carlyle was a treat. Emerson had long wished to make the acquaintance of this man, this robust leader of thought, then in the full vigor of his powers. Wordsworth was old. Coleridge was old. Both had completed their work, that is, by far the best part of it. But here was a man of iron strength and will and purpose. A man who hated shams, a worthy successor to Johnson, one who created and led opinion. Emerson hastened to Craigenputtock, and found the house "amid desolate heathery hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart." Carlyle had been a man from his younger days. He was now tall and gaunt and his brow was cliff-like and severe. He was self-possessed, and talked in an easy, familiar manner. His accent was the broad Scotch of his forefathers, and he used it with an evident relish. He was full of anecdote and humour, and Emerson felt at home in his company from the very first. They talked long about books and of Gibbon whom Carlyle called magnificently "that splendid bridge from the old world to the new." He admired Rousseau, Goethe, Schiller, Robertson, DeFoe and

Sterne. He belittled Socrates and would not read Plato. He had odd names for everything, *Blackwood* he called "The Sand Magazine." and *Fraser's*, to which he was a frequent contributor himself, he dubbed "The Mud Magazine." Thus they talked these two men who are brothers in thought, Carlyle to Scotland what Arnold is to England and Emerson is to America. Over the long hills they walked together that day, and looked at Criffel. Then they sat and talked again. Carlyle looked towards London, which was to him, then, the heart of the world. It was a huge machine and he liked it. There is nothing in Emerson's writings so delightful as these impressions of Carlyle, these jottings from his note book, these pen-portraits of the men of genius whom he saw. Of the five that talked with him in those days, but one remains. Coleridge, DeQuincey, Landor and Wordsworth are dead.

No man has been more sinned against for his religious faith than Emerson. No man has been more systematically misrepresented and less understood. He has been called a Pagan, an Atheist, an Unbeliever, a Pantheist. Men profess to see in him much that is bad and little that is good. People who have never read a line of his poetry, or took the merest dip out of his essays, have been the first and the readiest to assail him. He is a good man to abuse for he makes no reply, and these who prefer charges against him have it all their own way. He detests controversy, and naturally enough all the small pop-guns in the land are pointed at him. He has allowed these misrepresentations to grow so long undisturbed that to-day they assume not only respectable but quite leviathan proportions. There is something refreshingly cool about the way in which the Thinker meets every fresh attack which is made upon him. He only smiles at the ingenuity of his foes and says——nothing. He does what he believes to be right, and the world must be content with that. He goes on

affirming and making stronger his principles and aims. He neither apologizes nor explains. He wears no mask and he conceals nothing. He grows up, as Whipple says, "to a level with the spiritual objects he perceives, and his elevation of thought is the sign and accompaniment of a corresponding elevation of character. By his patience he has earned the right to speak as he does and to act as he does."

Emerson is the outcome of eight generations of orthodox preachers. He was born in 1803, and after graduating with high honors at Harvard in 1821, he entered the divinity class, and shortly afterwards took charge of a congregation in Boston, as the colleague of Henry Ware, Jr. He inherited strong Puritan ideas, and was much given to serious contemplation. His studies took a wide range and led him to seek out from among the mass of authors whose works crowded the shelves of the libraries such as were congenial to his taste and nature. He read Plato and Socrates, and mastered the logic of Locke and the philosophy of the great German teacher Emmanuel Kant. These writers influenced largely the current of his thought. He could not always agree with them in what they advanced, but less than all with what John Locke taught. Plato was his delight. Kant was his guide. He read these authors with much care, but it was not for years yet to come that he felt their influence working upon his mind. He continued his reading, and the ministrations of his office, as pastor of a congregation. No preacher was more beloved by his people. They vied with one another in showing proofs of the affection and esteem in which they held him. Even after he had hurled into their midst the thunderbolt which led to the separation between them, there were many in his church who thought some arrangement could yet be made by which he could be retained as their spiritual chief. You know why he resigned his charge, and why he retired from the ministry after a

service of four years, for you have seen, doubtless, his remarkable letter of December, 1832, and read the great sermon which he preached,—the only one he ever published,—about the same time. He gave up his church because, according to his way of thinking, he could not consistently administer the rite of the holy sacrament. It was after this that he went to England and the Continent. On his return he settled down a man of leisure, and of letters, and busied himself with writing papers for the magazines, an occasional book, and lecturing to the people on social and other topics. He achieved fame as a lecturer, and his college orations made him even more famous. His first book was published in 1839. This was "Nature," a volume of essays far in advance of the time in which they were written, and their sale was accordingly slow. It took twelve years to exhaust the first edition of five hundred copies! This admirable book—the keynote to Emerson's other and perhaps more popular writings, has of late years become a favorite with cultured readers. In July, 1840, Mr. Emerson accepted the editorship of a new journal of philosophy, literature and religion, entitled *The Dial*. Miss Fuller afterwards became identified with this serial, and for some numbers she was the editor. This publication nearly caused a revolution in religious thought. The leading writers of New England contributed poems and papers to its pages, and it soon grew to be quite influential and vigorous.

Some of you will be curious to know more about Emerson's belief. He has been called a Transcendentalist, and his associates have been more or less interested in that peculiar faith. The Transcendentalism to which Emerson pinned his faith was not the Transcendentalism of Kant, or of Fichte, or of Coleridge, or of Wordsworth. It was an institution peculiar and indigenous to the soil of New England. It grew nowhere else. It

could thrive nowhere else. Like a great wave it washed the shores of New England, overran the country and found a foothold and a resting place there and there alone. Its tenets were too exalted, its professors demanded too much, and it soon lost support, then languished and finally died a quiet and natural death. A quarter of a century ago hardly a man of any note lived in New England who was not an ardent disciple and sympathizer in this famous newness of thought movement. To-day you could scarcely find a half dozen—I know myself of but one, Mr. Alcott—who hold the same views, even if you looked for them among those who were living twenty-five years ago. Frothingham who wrote the life of Gerrit Smith, a biography which you remember was suppressed a few weeks after publication, was once a noted apostle of Transcendentalism. Theodore Parker was another, though it is said of him that he hardly knew it himself. Emerson was more of an idealist than a Transcendentalist, but he held some of the same views. Ripley gave up all he had for it, and even sold his valuable library to raise money to help its growth. Whittier felt so warmly towards it that at one time its teachings shone through every line of his poetry. Lowell wrote for the *Dial* some of his sincerest papers. Margaret Fuller was bewitched by it. Sylvester Judd wrote his novel of *Margaret* as an illustration of the whole creed. Curtis and Hawthorne had their warmest sympathies awakened by it. Indeed, the whole literature of New England was more or less tinged by the doctrine of the new faith. It grew to be the fashion—and you know that when Good Dame Fashion speaks her word is law, and her dictum must be obeyed. Every village had its school. It was a new religion, and men and women who went to church but seldom, if at all, were foremost in trying to build up and foster the new faith. Some of them hardly knew what it all meant: but they joined just the same. You have heard the story of the gruff old doctor who on being asked what New Eng-

land Transcendentalism was, replied by pointing to a high bluff and asking: "Do you see that bluff over there with all those swallow holes in it? Well, take away the bluff and you have New England Transcendentalism." But smile as we may the new religion succeeded in drawing towards it a coterie of scholars and thinkers which represented the best thought and the highest culture in America: Many, and George Bancroft, the historian, among the rest, believed it would live. It started well, but there were too many heads to it. It was all intellect and each mind strove to interpret the doctrine to suit himself. In a little while a dozen separate Transcendental beliefs were current, then there were more, and finally the theory which had some good points in it, collapsed altogether and became a hopeless wreck. Emerson, as I have said, differed much from his brethren. He was, and is to-day, an Idealist. He believes that in God we live and move and have our being. He believes in the communion of the Spirit of God with the soul of man. He believes in no material hypothesis that imperils man's spiritual interests. He believes in intuition. He does not claim for the soul any especial faculty by which truths of a spiritual relation are seen as objects are noticed by the senses. He is not a dogmatist. He allows full ingress to the mind and egress from it. In his essay on "Worship," he says that "immortality will come to such as are fit for it, and he who would be a great soul in the future, must be a great soul now." The doctrine must rest on our own experience. It is too great to rest on any legend, or on any experience but our own. He says further that the practical faculties are developed faster than the spiritual. And in other chapters he tells us you will find skepticism in the streets and hotels, and in places of coarse amusement. Everything is prospective and man is to live hereafter. The soul does not age with the body, he continues, and the greater the man is the more ambitious is he that his work shall be better, and the more does he be-

lieve that his work is still far short of what it should be. This flying ideal, Emerson holds, is the perpetual promise of the Creator. Our intellectual action gives us a feeling of absolute existence. We breathe a purer air. Nature never spares the individual. Future state is an illusion for the ever present state. It is not length of life but depth of life.

It is because of the serenity of his faith that Emerson avoids controversy and discussion about his religious teachings. He is an earnest believer in the doctrine of which I have given you but the merest outline. He has full confidence in it. He looks for perfection in individual man. He has boundless charity and openness of heart for all. He demands liberality of thought. He places Faith before Charity, higher even than Charity. He cherishes the sentiment of a universal brotherhood. He takes every man at his best, and he considers the *motive* as well as the *action* of the doer. He believes in a bright, cheerful religion. He peoples his faith with beautiful, delightful things. His imageries are fanciful and pretty. Creeds he holds to be structural and necessary to the action of the human mind. He is an Idealist pure and simple.

I will not detain you with an account of Brook-farm—that mild and Arcadian experiment which originated in the brain of George Ripley, and to which many of the prominent Transcendentalists belonged. It was a short-lived institution, and its scheme was too ambitious to be practicable. Emerson, though not a member, had some sympathy with it, and he and Margaret Fuller were occasional guests of the little community at West Roxbury, whose laudable object was the cultivation of the soil as well as the mind.

Nor will I ask you to consider the courage of Emerson during the abolition movement of half a century ago, when every pulpit in Boston was closed against anti-slavery

teachings save his own. He had the daring to bid defiance to the multitude who clamored for the body and the blood of the bondman. It was a memorable Sabbath that of the 29th of May, 1831, when the doors of the Hanover Street Church flew open and Samuel J. May mounted the steps of the pulpit, and thundered his anathemas against the slave-holder and his associates. It was an innovation, and several years had to elapse before the pastors of other churches felt courageous enough to follow the grand example of Emerson.

Let us now consider our author as a poet. He is not what the world would call a great poet. His greatness rather appears in his prose. But while he has written few poems of unusual mark, he has written many musical, sunshiny pieces of great excellence and purity. His poetry is the outcome of a cultivated mind. His peculiar views enrich it materially, but his poetry is not always symmetrical and even. His poems remind you of a series of paintings of various degrees of merit. You notice a want of harmony in the one, and a careless disregard for tune and time, in the other. His poems are prophecies, and they appeal directly to the head and scarcely at all to the heart. A scholarly man only, could write them. They have little warmth, and some of them are cold and wanting in those genuine touches of nature which shine so luminously and conspicuously in the verses of Byron, Bryant, Keats, and Robert Burns. Some one has said Scott's poetry is a poetical guide to Scotland. Emerson's poetry is a guide to the Idealist's faith. It is often fanciful, often full of graceful images, and always full of thought and expression. I have said he was fanciful at times. He loves to paint in bright, joyous colours the beauties of nature. He does not believe with the Quaker-lady, who, you know, thought it would have been much more seemly if all the flowers had been created drab colour, instead of such flaunting reds

and blues and yellows. If you would write poetry that would live, something more than mere felicity of expression and smoothness of versification are needed. We are forgetting poets every day who have done no more than this—poets whose names have indeed been “writ in water.” Tennyson is a fastidious thinker, forever changing and altering his work. Wordsworth was pretty much the same, though he seldom corrected his stanzas after they had once appeared in type. Emerson has almost a contempt for the versifier whose only skill is musicality of rhythm. He considers that the greatness of a poem is due to its conception and design. No skill of execution can atone if these be wanting. “We want an architect and they bring us an upholsterer.”

Emerson often gets in among the clouds. He is dreamy, listless, abstracted and thoughtful. Socrates, you remember, would stand for hours almost motionless, when thought had possession of him. He used to listen to what he called the supernatural and prophetic voices. Dante was often in an abstracted, forgetful mood, and he used to go about the streets as if he were possessed of a demon. People would shudder as he passed, and the whisper went from mouth to mouth, “there goes the man who has been in Hell.” Halleck walked about New York for days with whole poems in his head, speaking to nobody, but brooding over his verses until opportunity offering, he wrote down his thoughts, thoughts which were bursting through him at every pore. Lowell composes in his mind long before he commits his work to paper. Longfellow is sometimes haunted for days and cannot rest until he has laid his tormentor by writing down what is tearing madly through him. It is the same with Emerson. He can only secure peace and rest to his mind by filling the page before him with the poem which cries for utterance. The range of his poetry is not very large, but it is very deep. I can-

not say that all of Mr. Emerson's poetry is of the very highest order of merit, but "Brahma," "Rhodora,"—full of tender suggestion as it is—"Letters," "The Snow Storm," "The Humble Bee,"—which so many refused to listen to at first—"The Sea," "Heroism," and "The Boston Hymn," are poems which enrich the language, and I cannot help feeling that the world is better because they were written. Though a mystic, Emerson is not one quarter as unintelligible as Mr. Robert Browning, who gave us a few years ago a poem in two ponderous volumes which he called "The Ring and the Book." Mr. Browning, you know, is the gentleman who wrote "Sordello"—a work which was handed to Douglas Jerrold once, as he was recovering from an illness which had kept him indoors for several days. His wife had gone out to make a few purchases, and the wit sat by the fire with the book open before him. He read the pages over and over again. The perspiration stood in great beads upon his forehead. He laid the volume down and almost shrieked, "Good God! I am an idiot." His wife coming in just then he handed her the book; "read, read," he exclaimed wildly. Mrs. Jerrold read a few pages, and throwing the poem down, vexatiously said, "Bother the man, I can't understand a word he says." "Thank Heaven for that," cried Jerrold springing from his chair, "I thought it was my own reason which was going."

Emerson's poetry is admired by the few. He has a select but not a very large audience. One requires to read his poems often. They grow upon you as a beautiful picture does. Ripley, who is ever cautious in hazarding an opinion, thinks that it is Emerson's "subtle thinking and meditative wisdom which impart such a rich and substantial vitality to his verse." Emerson throws his whole soul into his work, and his poetry reveals a phase of his inner self. It is his heaviness of thought, if I might call it by that name for want of a better one, which prevents his poetry from

becoming popular, and widely read among the masses. He has only published two volumes of verse, the first one in 1847, and the other "May-day," some twenty years later. A year or two ago he edited an excellent collection of poems which he called "Parnassus." The book owes its origin to a habit which the poet cultivated of copying into a common-place book such poems or parts of poems as pleased him, in the course of his reading. He had in this way a good collection of his favorites within a small compass. This was an advantage, for he could turn at will and read the poems he loved the best, without having to hunt through his own and his friends' libraries for them. After a time his book grew so large that he had to get a new one, and at last he thought such poems as he possessed might please others beside himself were they printed in convenient form. Accordingly he gathered them up, threw them into divisions, and his "Parnassus," really representing the cream of fugitive and other poetry, became a fact. Many like to read the poetry which a poet selects. As one might expect, the greater part of the volume is composed of poetry which the cultivated classes only care to read.

Emerson has written but one striking poem—a poem which seems to me to overshadow everything else that we find in his poetry. It is his exquisite description of a snow-storm. I wish that I could read it to you as I once heard it read a few years ago, in the early autumn when the leaves were just beginning to turn:—

Announced by all the trumpets of the sky,
Arrives the snow; and, driving o'er the fields,
Seens nowhere to alight; the whitened air
Hides hills and woods, the river and the heaven,
And veils the farm-house at the garden's end.
The sled and traveller stopped, the courier's feet
Delayed, all friends shut out, the housemates sit
Around the radiant fireplace, enclosed
In a tumultuous privacy of storm.
Come see the north wind's masonry.

Out of an unseen quarry, evermore
Furnished with tile, the fierce artificer
Curves his white bastions with projected roof
Round every windward stake, or tree, or door;
Speeding, the myriad-handed, his wild work
So fanciful, so savage; naught cares he
For number or proportion. Mockingly,
On coop or kennel he hangs Parian wreaths;
A swan-like form invests the hidden thorn;
Fills up the farmer's lane from wall to wall,
Maugre the farmer's sighs; and at the gate
A tapering turret overtops the work.
And when his hours are numbered, and the world
Is all his own, retiring as he were not,
Leaves, when the sun appears, astonished Art
To mimic in slow structures, stone by stone,
Built in an age, the mad wind's night-work,
The frolic architecture of the snow.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have tried to tell you something this evening about one of the most profound and venerated thinkers of our age. It is difficult to treat a subject so vast as this one is, in a popular way, without to a certain extent largely weakening it. Emerson is a man whose power for good or evil is very great. He is a thinker who every year gains ground and loses none. He is growing into men's minds. He is enlisting, with no apparent effort of his own, new converts, day by day. He is doing his work silently but with terrible earnestness and skill. The vast acres of the universe open before him, and men in every quarter of the globe, sit in wonder and admiration, over the pages of the serene thinker, who never utters an uncertain sound. He has struck a blow at popular prejudice which has dissolved like the dew upon the grass, opinions which the records of centuries made strong and adamant. For years he has lived in advance of his time. But his day has come now. The centuries have caught up with him at last. I am not advocating Transcendentalism, Idealism, Pantheism, Optimism, or the two score and more isms, of the day, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that through

such teachers as Emerson and Carlyle, the world is growing, year by year, wiser and better and more liberal. One cannot help enquiring, just here, are these teachings right and proper? Is it better for us all that Emerson has come? Has he done good? What has he accomplished for mankind? Has he made men and women lead purer and holier lives, or are his teachings harmful and erroneous? Is he satisfying, or does he only tantalize us with his mystic phrases and orphic sayings? Must we skip every other line?

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting was held on the 8th instant, in the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society, when the reports for the past year were presented

The meeting having been called to order, the President, Mr. Stevenson, read the report of the Council for the past year, which was as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1878.

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec have the honor to report to the members of the Society that, since the last annual general meeting, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret their loss by death of two associate members, Mr. L. P. Turcotte, Recording Secretary; and Mr. Justice P. A. Doucet.

Four honorary members—men of distinguished merit—have been unanimously elected; and thirty new names have been added to the list of associate members.

The following papers have been read:

I. On "The Aborigines of Canada and their treatment under the British," by Wm. Clint, Esquire, Corresponding Secretary—on the 23rd March last.

II. "The State of Ohio, and subjects related to it" by Hon. W. C. Howells, Consul for the United States of America—on the 30th March last.

III. "The First Chapter of English History" by Professor Goldwin Smith, LL.D.—on the 21st September last.

The report of the Librarian will be read with interest, as well as that of the Curator, under whose supervision the objects in the museum are kept in a state of perfect preservation.

The Treasurer will submit his report on the state of the funds of the Society. A smaller balance than usual remains at credit, which is accounted for by the disbursements shown on the other side of the account.

The Council had lately the pleasure of welcoming to Quebec two distinguished historians, Professor Goldwin Smith, of Toronto, and Francis Parkman, of Boston, honorary members of this Society. The Professor delivered an interesting lecture on the early history of England to a crowded audience in this room. Both gentlemen have devoted their lives to the study of historical science. They take a sincere interest in the prosperity of this Association, and express their readiness to do all in their power to promote the objects which it is established to foster.

Although it has not been customary to make a record of current events in the annual report, the Council cannot pass over in silence a matter of such peculiar interest as the appointment of the Marquis of Lorne, son-in-law of the Queen, to the important position of Governor-General, and his arrival with his wife, H. R. H. the Princess Louise. Their Excellencies have received a warm welcome to Canada; and their advent is hailed throughout the Dominion, as an event calculated to strengthen the ties which bind the Colony to Great Britain, and deepen the conviction that we share in all the history and traditions of the Mother Country.

The Council have watched with interest the progress which has been made by the city authorities in the restoration of our mural monuments. The foundations of the Kent and Dufferin gates have been laid. One will commemorate the administration of the army in Canada by H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, in 1791-4; the other the constitutional rule of Lord Dufferin. In addition to those memorials, important public works are in course of construction: the Dufferin Terrace, the Parliament Buildings, spacious docks and quays for the convenience of trade and the accommodation of shipping, calculated to promote, not only the commercial interests of this port, but those of the whole Dominion of Canada.

The "Transactions" of the year have been printed and will soon be ready for distribution. The state of the funds of the Society did not justify the Council in carrying out their intention, as mentioned in their last report, of publishing inedited historical documents and literary remains relating to the war of 1812. Several interesting manuscripts connected with the events of the war have since been received—which, with other documents relating to the same subject, will enable the Council, ere long, to issue their sixth series of historical documents.

J. STEVENSON,
President.

**REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR
ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1878,**

READ BY MR. RODERICK McLEOD.

In resigning his trust for the past year, the Librarian takes pleasure in remarking that the reading-room and library continue to be appreciated, the number of issues having been 5,000, or about the same as last year, while the attendance in the very comfortable reading-room is observably constantly increasing.

The additions to the library by purchase and donation have been 240 vols. The gifts have been especially liberal, and among the principal donors may be mentioned Francis Parkman, of Boston, who has lately presented us with a complete set of his historical works, and Dr. W. Marsden, who has given a valuable work, "Le Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales" in 58 vols.

Messrs. Abraham Thomeon, P. Robinson, H. S. Scott, E. L. Montizambert, Dr. W. Boswell, and Col. T. B. Strange, of Quebec; Messrs. Huguet-Latour and Dawson, of Montreal; and Chapman, of New Zealand, have also benefitted the Society by donations of books. It is to be hoped that their example will stimulate others to confide to the care of this Society any volumes they can spare. Works relating to the history of Canada, and especially on the period extending from 1759 to the end of the past century, would be particularly valued.

A detailed list of the additions by donation and exchange is appended to this report.

The subscribers are, as usual, respectfully reminded of the recommendation book, in which they are invited to

record the titles of works they may wish to have added to the library. Though action on these recommendations may sometimes seem tardy, they yet always receive due consideration from the Council. It is believed that the Acting-Librarian, Mr. Macdonald, by his obliging disposition, has not failed to please the members of the Society.

RODERICK McLEOD,
Librarian.

*DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31st DECEMBER, 1878.*

Medallic History of England.

Histoire Médallique de la Révolution Française, presented by Abraham Thomson.

Prize Essays, presented by Lt.-Col. Strange, R.A.

Methodism in Eastern British America.

Pamphlet—Hill's Surrender.

Canada Year Book and Almanac, 1878, presented by E. L. Montizambert, Esq.

Reports of the different public departments of the Government of Canada, presented by H. S. Scott.

Autumns on the Spey, presented by Dr. Boswell.

Parkman's Historical Works, 8 volumes, presented by Mr. Parkman.

Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales, 58 volumes, presented by Dr. Marsden.

California, a book for Travellers and Settlers, presented by P. Robinson.

Evenings in the Library, presented by Geo. Stewart.

Schools of Mines, New Zealand, presented by Chapman.

Pamphlet—Superficial Geology of British Columbia, Travelling Notes on the Surface, Geology of the Pacific, presented by George Mercer Dawson.

Annuaire de Ville-Marie, presented by M. Huguet-Latour M.A.

- Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Transactions of the Academy of Sciences, St. Louis, vol. iii., No. 4.
- Pennsylvanian Magazine of History and Biography, No. 4 of vol. i., No. 1, vol. ii., No. 2, of vol. ii., No. 3, of vol. ii.
- Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1877, and April, 1878.
- Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, Vol. ii, No. 1.
- Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. 19, part 3.
- Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Sciences, 1877, 78, vol. 4, part 4.
- Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, session 1876-77.
- Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institution, vol. 9th, 1877-78.
- Journal of Royal United Service Institution, vol. 21, '77
- Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, vol. xi, No. 1, 1877-78.
- Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal.
- Memoirs of Boston Society of Natural History, vol. ii, part 4. No. 4.
- Michigan Pomological Society, 1875, sixth registration report.
- American Almanac, 1871.
- Bulletin of the Essex Institute, vol. 9, Nos. 1 to 12; vol. 10, Nos. 1 to 9.
- Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol. 1, Nos. 1 to 4.
- Annals of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, vol. 11, Nos. 9 to 12.
- Annual Reports and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 11 volumes.
- Report of the Quebec Lunatic Asylum, 1876-77.

New York Board of Education Journal, 1877. 36th Annual Report of.

Report on Corporal Punishment. Manual of the Board of Education, New York.

Statutes of Quebec in French and English, 41-42 Victoria, 1878.

Sessional Papers and Journals of Legislative Assembly of Ontario, vols. 10-11.

Sessional Papers of Dominion of Canada, vol. 2, 1878.

Journal of the Senate of Canada, vol. 12, 1878.

Parliamentary Papers, 1878.

Purchased, 74 volumes of Modern Literature.

Magazines, bound, 40 volumes.

Number of Works issued during the year, about 5,000.

Quebec, 8th January, 1879.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM,

READ BY Mr. LeMOINE.

Since the date of the last report, there have been few additions to our collection of birds, animals, medals, woods, &c., though we have had the same facilities this year we had previously, of completing one important department by acquiring specimens of the larger denizens of the forest; no other excuse need be pleaded for their absence from the museum than want of space. The numerous varieties of the deer family would form a splendid group. For the size, shape, color, peculiarities of several of them, one now has to dive into ponderous quartos. Distinguished strangers as well as resident sportsmen have repeatedly manifested great curiosity to contemplate and compare, well-mounted specimens of the Moose, the two species of Cariboo, the Common Red Deer, the Long-tailed Deer, the Mule Deer, the Black-tailed Deer, Richardson's Deer, without forgetting the beautiful and gigantic Wapiti, one hundred and twenty years ago, abundant in our Province, but now extinct here as well as in the western provinces of Ontario, though found to this day in the boundless prairies of our sister province of Manitoba.* More than once, it has been the duty of the undersigned to press this matter on your attention, as many here can testify.

* "A large Wapiti Deer, weighing about 800 pounds, was killed by an Indian named Baptiste Cimon, on the Head-waters of the Mississippi River in this Province, on the 14th of December last. This was one of the largest specimens of the Wapiti ever seen in Canada. This gigantic deer was, at one time, found all through Ontario, but for many years no single specimen has been seen this side of Manitoba and the Saskatchewan. The horns of this splendid animal measured six feet in width and were several feet in height from the skull to the highest point. It is to be stuffed and placed in the Government Museum of Ontario."—(*Quebec Mercury*, 14th Feby., 1879.)

If, on this point, our Society is still open to a serious reproach, there is one subject of congratulation—a want of more than twenty years' duration, has at last happily been met.

The contents of the museum were lately catalogued under the superintendence of the Curator. Members can now at a glance see what it contains, and judge for themselves whether it is worth the money it represents.

The American fauna, being totally different from the European, with respect to the birds, it has been deemed advisable to adopt the nomenclature of the Smithsonian Institution; this elaborate nomenclature has likewise been used by several of the leading scientific institutions in Canada.

On reference to the catalogue, you will see recorded the magnificent gifts made to the Society since the date of the conflagrations which destroyed a former collection,—a most irreparable loss.

To any one perusing this compilation, it will be apparent how poor the Society is, in ores and minerals, and still who dare underrate the importance of suitably exhibiting the exuberant store of mineral wealth a bountiful Providence has concealed in our soil.

Judging from enquiries and letters from the United States and elsewhere, it is plain that our collection of birds especially, is becoming known abroad. We are now in correspondence with United States naturalists and taxidermists desirous of exchanging specimens with us.

In closing, the undersigned still indulges the hope that in time our museum will become so varied, so complete as to furnish material for any lecturer, desirous of illustrating the leading branches in natural history.

J. M. LEMOINE,
Curator.

DONATIONS TO MUSEUM, 1878.

Medal struck to celebrate an excursion on the St. Lawrence, 1st January, 1878, presented by R. W. McLachlan, Montreal.

Glass case containing bayonets, helmets, pistols, medals, &c., &c., found on battle fields of Strasburg, Metz, Sedan, obtained by C. V. M. Temple, Esq., after the Franco-Prussian war, and presented by him to the Society.

Photograph of an *Astrolabe*, found in August, 1867, on the rear half-lot No. 12, in the 2nd range of the Township of Ross,—supposed to have been lost by Samuel de Champlain, on the 7th June, 1613, in passing the portage from the Ottawa to the Muskrat Lake.

Photograph of the address presented to the Hon. W. C. Howells, presented by him to the Society.

Silver Cup, presented to the Society by James Ashbury, Esq., M.P., London.

Autograph of Dr. Livingston, LL.D., presented by J. R. Dunlop, Esq.

Picture of General Sir James Henry Craig, K. B., Governor-General of British North America, (taken by Schepper in 1809, at Quebec.)

Photograph of monument erected to the memory of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, presented to the Society by Wm. Kirby, Esq., Niagara, author of "Le Chien d'Or."

Photograph of Jas Ashbury, Esq., M.P., England, honorary member of the Society.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,

IN ACCOUNT WITH THE TREASURER.

1878.

Dr.

January 1.—To balance on hand.....	\$	119	14
“ Government grant.....		750	00
“ Interest on deposits.....		13	30
“ Subscriptions from members..		1,102	00
	\$	1,984	44

Cr.

Dec. 31.—By paid rent.....	\$	200	00
“ “ books, periodicals, printing and advertising.....		820	10
“ “ gas and fuel.....		169	86
“ “ insurance.....		52	75
“ “ commission on collections...		82	29
“ “ salaries.....		287	96
“ “ miscellaneous charges.....		251	84
“ “ balance.....		119	00
	\$	1,984	44

W. HOSSACK,
Treasurer.

Quebec, 8th February, 1878.

The meeting then proceeded to elect the officers and Council for the ensuing year, Messrs. A. Robertson and F. C. Wurtele being appointed Scrutineers, with the following result:

President—J. M. LeMoine.

Vice-Presidents—H. S. Scott, Dr. W. Boswell, Col. T. B. Strange, R. S. M. Bouchette.

Treasurer—W. Hossack.

Recording-Secretary—Cyrille Tessier.

Corresponding-Secretary—W. Clint.

Council Secretary—Alexander Robertson.

Librarian—R. McLeod.

Curator of Museum—Dr. H. Neilson.

Curator of Apparatus—F. C. Wurtele.

Additional Members of Council—J. Whitehead, J. F. Belleau, J. Stevenson, P. Johnston.

The following resolution was then passed: Moved by R. J. Bradley, Esq., seconded by P. Johnston, Esq.,—That the thanks of this Society are due and are hereby cordially tendered to Mr. Stevenson, the retiring President, for his valuable services to the Society during the three years last past, during which time he has so ably filled that office, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mr. Stevenson.

The following gentlemen were then duly elected associate members, viz:—St. George Boswell, J. J. Bell, and Willoughby Ross.

ADDRESS TO Mr. PARKMAN.

The following address was presented at the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, on Saturday, the 16th November, 1878:—

TO FRANCIS PARKMAN, Esquire, of Boston, the Historian of Canada.

DEAR SIR,—The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec feels particularly happy in welcoming you to its rooms and in placing at your disposal its archives and manuscripts.

Called into existence by the friends of Letters, in the early part of this century, under the auspices of a distinguished nobleman, the Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor-General of Lower Canada, its cherished object has ever been the research and publication of historical data relating to Canada—the promotion of science and literature generally.

It would be recreant to the spirit which actuated it in the past, were it now to view with unconcern the advent in its midst of one of its most gifted honorary members—a writer of whom the most brilliant literary centre in the United States is justly proud.

In hastening to mark its appreciation of the eminent position achieved by you as the sympathetic annalist of our country, this ancient society feels it is not only discharging a debt of gratitude towards you, but also responding to the aims and aspirations of the worthy founders of this institution.

Sir, your graphic portraiture of all that must be dear to us—your captivating narrations of our sieges, our battlefields, our scenery and customs, have rendered your name a familiar sound in every Canadian home. Though born and living in a foreign land, we feel towards you as if you were one of ourselves. In now revisiting, at considerable trouble and some expense, our city, in order to complete the historical gallery, devised by your skilful hand and fertile brain, with a truthful and minute sketch of one of the noblest figures in our annals—Montcalm, the heroic rival of Wolfe, of immortal memory, we feel you are adding one more link to the chain of gratitude which already binds us.

You are, indeed, dear sir, welcome among us.

President—James Stevenson.

Vice-Presidents—Lt.-Col. T. B. Strange, R.A., H. S. Scott, R. S. M. Bouchette, Dr. W. Boswell.

Treasurer—Wm. Hossack.

Librarian—R. McLeod.

Recording-Secretary—Cyrille Tessier.

Corresponding-Secretary—W. Clint.

Council Secretary—Alex. Robertson.

Curator of the Museum—J. M. LeMoine, Past President.

Curator of Apparatus—F. C. Wurtele.

Additional Members of Council—J. Whitehead, J. F. Belleau, Commander Ashe, R.N., F.R.S., Past President.

(Extract from Mr. Parkman's Letter to Mr. J. M. LeMoine.)

MONTREAL, 17th November, 1878.

DEAR MR. LEMOINE,—

I arrived here this morning, bringing with me a grateful recollection of the many kindnesses of my Quebec friends.

Your Historical Society has done a great deal for Canadian history, but there is, I think, no particular in which it has done it better service than in collecting and printing memoirs and journals concerning the great crisis of 1759. I trust it will continue this good work. A great deal may thus be saved that would otherwise perish and be forgotten. There must be a great number of letters, papers and maps in private hands, subject to fire and all sorts of accidents, which might be saved at moderate expense and the preservation of which is essential to a full knowledge of that important period.

I am glad to hear that M. Bedard is making a full index of the records of the *Conseil Supérieur*. This is another work of the highest interest and value; and I trust that your Government will appreciate its importance and provide for continuing it and giving its results to the public and to students of history.

Very truly yours,

F. PARKMAN.

(From advertisement in Morning Chronicle of Jany., 1879.)

CANADIAN HISTORY

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, deeply impressed with the importance of adding to its Annual Publications on Early Canadian History, invites all those owning any original unpublished Memoirs, Letters, Reports, Journals of Siege Operations, Old Maps, &c., to deposit them with the President of this Institution, so that they may be referred to and reported upon by the Historical Committee of the Society.

The Institution having recently incurred considerable expense in fitting up a fire-proof Vault in the basement, under their Rooms, to store these MSS., the owners of such documents, &c., can be assured as to their safety.

In some exceptional cases the Society is prepared to treat with such owners, on cash terms, when the historical matter is of more than ordinary value.

J. M. LEMOINE,
President.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

January 15, 1879.

CATALOGUE

OF

BIRDS, MEDALS, WOODS, &c.,

IN THE

Museum of the Literary and Historical Society

OF QUEBEC

(Birds arranged according to the nomenclature of the *Smithsonian Institute*,
Washington.)

*The numbers refer to those of the IX. Vol. of Reports of the Pacific Railroad Surveys
in 1858; Birds by Professor SPENCER F. BAIRD.*

I.—RAPTORES.

(BIRDS OF PREY.)

	No.
Falco anatum Duck Hawk.....	5
Falco columbarius Pigeon ".....	7
Falco sparverius Sparrow ".....	13
Astur atricapillus Gos ".....	14
Accipiter fuscus Sharp-shinned Hawk, male.....	17
Buteo insignatus Brown ".....	21
" borealis Red-tailed ".....	23
" lineatus Red-shouldered ".....	25
" elegans Red-bellied ".....	27
" pennsylvanicus Broad-winged Hawk.....	28
Archibuteo lagopus Rough-legged ".....	30
" Sancti-Johannis Black ".....	31
Circus hudsonius Marsh Harrier.....	38
Aquila canadensis Golden Eagle.....	39
Haliaeetus leucocephalus Bald Eagle young.....	43
Pandion carolinensis Fish Hawk.....	44
Bubo virginianus Great Horned Owl, young.....	48
Otus wilsonianus Long-eared " female.....	51
Brachyotus cassinii Short ".....	52
Syrnium cinereum Great Gray " male.....	53
" nebulosum Barred ".....	54
Nyctale richarsoni Sparrow, male.....	55
Nyctea nivea Snowy ".....	61
Surnia ulula Hawk " male and female.....	62

II.—SCANSORES.

(CLIMBERS.)

	No
<i>Coccygus erythrophthalmus</i>	Black-billed Cuckoo, male..... 70
<i>Picus villosus</i>	Hairy Wood Pecker, male..... 74
“ <i>pubescens</i>	Downy “ male..... 76
<i>Picoides arcticus</i>	Black-backed, 3 toed, Wood Pecker..... 82
“ <i>hirsutus</i>	Banded three-toed “..... 83
<i>Sphyrapicus varius</i>	Yellow-bellied Wood Pecker, male and female. 85
<i>Hylatomus pileatus</i>	Log Cock, male..... 90
<i>Melanerpes erythrocephalus</i>	Red-headed Wood Pecker..... 94
<i>Colaptes auratus</i>	High Holder, Golden Winged “..... 97

III.—INSESSORES.

(PERCHERS.)

<i>Choetura pelagica</i>	Chimney Swallow.....	109
<i>Chordeiles popetue</i>	Night Hawk.....	114
<i>Ceryle alcyon</i>	King Fisher.....	117
<i>Tyrannus carolinensis</i>	King Bird, male and female.....	124
<i>Empidonax acadicus</i>	Small Green-crested Fly Catcher.....	143
<i>Turdus mustelinus</i>	Wood Thrush.....	148
“ <i>pallasi</i>	Hermit “.....	149
“ <i>fuscens</i>	Wilson's “ male.....	151
“ <i>migratorius</i>	Robin, male.....	155
<i>Sialia sialis</i>	Blue Bird.....	158
<i>Regulus calendula</i>	Ruby-crowned Wren, male.....	161
“ <i>satrapa</i>	Golden-crested “.....	162
<i>Anthus ludovicianus</i>	Tit Lark.....	165
<i>Geothlypis trichas</i>	Maryland Yellow-throat, male.....	170
<i>Seiurus noveboracensis</i>	Water Thrush.....	187
<i>Dendroica canadensis</i>	Blk-throated Blue Warbler, male.....	193
“ <i>castanea</i>	Bay-breasted “ “.....	197
“ <i>striata</i>	Black-poll “ “.....	202
“ <i>sestiva</i>	Yellow “.....	208
“ <i>maculosa</i>	Black and Yellow “.....	204
<i>Myiodiotes canadensis</i>	Canada, male.....	214
<i>Setophaga ruticilla</i>	Redstart.....	217
<i>Pyranga rubra</i>	Scarlet Tanager.....	220
<i>Hirundo lunifrons</i>	Cliff Swallow.....	226
<i>Progne purpurea</i>	Purple Martin, female.....	231
<i>Ampelis garrulus</i>	Wax Wing.....	233
“ <i>cedrorum</i>	Cedar Bird, male.....	233
<i>Collyrio borealis</i>	Great Northern Shrike, male.....	236
<i>Vireo olivaceus</i>	Red-eyed Vireo.....	240

INSESSORES.—CONTINUED.

	No.
<i>Mimus carolinensis</i>	Cat Bird, male 254
<i>Harporhynchus rufus</i>	Brown Thrush 261
<i>Certhia americana</i>	American Creeper 275
<i>Sitta canadensis</i>	Red bellied Nuthatch 279
<i>Parus atricapillus</i>	Black-cap Titmouse 290
<i>Eremophila cornuta</i>	Shore Lark 302
<i>Hesperiphona vespertina</i>	Evening Grosbeak 303
<i>Pinicola canadensis</i>	Pine " female 304
<i>Carpodacus purpureus</i>	Purple Finch, male and female 305
<i>Chrysomitris tristis</i>	Yellow Bird—Canadian Goldfinch 313
" <i>pinus</i>	Pine Finch, male and female 317
<i>Curvirostra americana</i>	Red Crossbill, male 318
" <i>leucoptera</i>	White-winged Crossbill, male and female 319
<i>Ægiothus linaria</i>	Lesser Red Poll 320
<i>Plectrophanes nivalis</i>	Snow Bunting 325
<i>Zonotrichia albicollis</i>	White-breasted Sparrow, male 349
<i>Junco hyemalis</i>	Snow Bird 354
<i>Spizella monticola</i>	Tree Sparrow 357
<i>Melospiza melodia</i>	Song " male 363
<i>Passerella iliaca</i>	Fox-colored Sparrow 374
<i>Cardinalis virginianus</i>	Cardinal Gros Beak 390
<i>Agelaius phoeniceus</i>	Red-winged Blackbird 401
<i>Sturnella magna</i>	Meadow Lark 406
<i>Icterus baltimore</i>	Baltimore Oriole 415

IV.—RASORES.

(DUSTERS.)

<i>Scolecophagus ferrugineus</i>	Rusty Grackle 417
<i>Quiscalus versicolor</i>	Crow Blackbird, male and female 421
<i>Corvus carnivorus</i>	Raven 423
" <i>americanus</i>	Common Crow 426
<i>Cyanura cristata</i>	Blue Jay 438
<i>Perisoreus canadensis</i>	Canada Jay 443
<i>Tetrao canadensis</i>	Spruce Partridge 460
" <i>phasianellus</i>	Sharp-tailed Partridge
<i>Cupidonia cupido</i>	Prairie Hen, make and female 464
<i>Bonasa umbellus</i>	Ruffed Grouse 465
<i>Lagopus rupestris</i>	Rock Grouse 468
" <i>albus</i>	White Ptarmigan 470
<i>Ortyx virginianus</i>	Quail, male and female 471

V.—GRALLATOIRES.

(Waders.)

		No.
<i>Ardea herodias</i>	Great Blue Heron	487
<i>Botaurus lentiginosus</i>	Bittern	492
<i>Nyctiardea gardeni</i>	Night Heron	495
<i>Charadrius virginicus</i>	Golden Plover	503
<i>Aegialitis wilsonius</i>	Wilson's "	506
" <i>semipalmatus</i>	Semipalmated Plover	507
<i>Squatarola helvetica</i>	Black-bellied "	510
<i>Streptopelia interpres</i>	Turnstone	515
<i>Philohela minor</i>	American Woodcock	522
<i>Gallinago wilsonii</i>	English Snipe	523
<i>Tringa americana</i>	Red-backed Sandpiper	530
<i>Tringa maculata</i>	Jack Snipe	531
" <i>wilsonii</i>	Least Sandpiper	532
<i>Calidris arenaria</i>	Sanderling	534
<i>Gambetta flavipes</i>	Yellow Legs	540
<i>Rhyacophilus solitarius</i>	Solitary Sandpiper	541
<i>Tringoides macularius</i>	Spotted "	543
<i>Limosa fedoa</i>	Marbled Godwit	547
" <i>hudsonica</i>	Hudsonian "	548
<i>Tringa variabilis</i>	Purple Sandpiper	
<i>Maritima</i> "	Purple Sandpiper, female	
<i>Numenius hudsonicus</i>	Curlew	550

VI.—NATATOIRES.

(PALMATED.)

<i>Fulica americana</i>	Coot	559
<i>Anser hyperboreus</i>	Snow Goose	563
<i>Bernicla canadensis</i>	Canada "	567
" <i>brenta</i>	Brant	570
<i>Anas boschas</i>	Mallard	576
Albino "	" albino	576
" <i>obscura</i>	Black Duck, young	577
<i>Daifila scuta</i>	Pin-Tail, male	578
<i>Nettion carolinensis</i>	Green winged Teal	579
<i>Spatula clypeata</i>	Shoveller	583
<i>Aix sponsa</i>	Wood Duck	587
<i>Fulix affinis</i>	Little black-head, male and female	589
" <i>marila</i>	Greater black-head	588
" <i>collaris</i>	Ring-necked Duck	590
<i>Aythya americana</i>	Red-Head	591
<i>Bucephala americana</i>	Golden Eye, male and female	593
" <i>islandica</i>	Barrow's Golden eye, male	594
" <i>albeola</i>	Butter Ball	595

NATATOIRES.—CONTINUED.

	No.
<i>Histrionicus torquatus</i>	Harlequin duck, male 596
<i>Harelda glacialis</i>	South Southerly 597
<i>Melanetta velvetina</i>	Velvet Duck, male 601
<i>Pelionetta perspicillata</i>	Surf Duck, female 602
<i>Oidemia americana</i>	Scoter 604
<i>Somateria mollissima</i>	Eider Duck, female, young 606
<i>Mergus americanus</i>	Sheldrake 611
“ <i>serrator</i>	Red-breasted Merganser 612
<i>Lophodytes cucullatus</i>	Hooded “ 613
<i>Sula basana</i>	Gannet 617
<i>Graculus carbo</i>	Common Cormorant 620
“ <i>dilophus</i>	Double-crested “ 623
<i>Puffinus cinereus</i>	Cenerious Petrel 651
<i>Larus marinus</i>	Great Black backed Gull 660
“ <i>argentatus</i>	Herring Gull, young 661
<i>Chroicocephalus philadelphia</i>	Bonaparte's Gull 670
<i>Sterna wilsonii</i>	Wilson's Tern, male 689
<i>Hydrochelidon plumbea</i>	Short-tailed Tern 695
<i>Colymbus torquatus</i>	Loon 698
“ <i>septentrionalis</i>	Red-throated Diver 701
<i>Podiceps californicus</i>	California Grebe 707
<i>Podilymbus podiceps</i>	Carolina Grebe—Dab chick 709
<i>Alca torda</i>	Razor-billed Auk 711
<i>Mormon arcticus</i>	Arctic Puffin 715
<i>Phalaris pusillus</i>	Least Auk 723
<i>Uria grylle</i>	Black Guillemot 726
“ <i>lomvia</i>	Foolish “ 729
<i>Mergulus alle</i>	Sea Dove 738

LIST OF EUROPEAN BIRDS IN THE MUSEUM.

Accentor Alpinus,
Cinclus aquaticus,
Sturnus vulgaris,
Picus viridis,
Ictomus Hypoleucos,
Picus major,
Alauda Calendra,
Melanerpes formicivorus,
Picus scolaris,
Otidæ houbaræ,

Gray Cuckoo.
 Brick Bunting,
 Orange crested Wren,

LIST OF EGGS IN MUSEUM,

August, 1873.

Fox-colored Sparrow,	Red-billed Nuthatch,
Song "	White-bellied Swallow,
Tree "	Barn Swallow,
White-crowned "	Martin,
White-throated "	Redstart,
Field "	Yellow Warbler,
Cow Bunting,	Blue Bird,
Red-winged Starling,	Golden-crowned Thrush,
Meadow Lark,	Hermit "
Crow Black Bird,	Wilson's "
Carolina Dove,	Small green-crested Fly-catcher,
Ruffed Grouse,	Trail's "
Prairie Hen,	Black-billed Cuckoo,
Quail,	Osprey,
Snowy Heron,	Canada Goose,
Kildeer Plover,	Red-necked Diver,
Wilson's "	Puffin,
Piping "	Black Guillemot,
Semi-palmated "	Loon,
Golden "	Common Guillemot,
Clapper Rail,	Pintail Duck,
Willet,	Raven,
King Fisher,	Gadwall,
Magpie,	Hawk Owl,
Marsh Tern,	Short-eared "
Least "	Razor-billed Auk,
Arctic "	Goshawk,
Foster's "	Red-shouldered Hawk,
Sooty "	Marsh "
Noddy "	Cooper's "
Snow Bird,	Red-breasted Merganser
Bay-winged Bunting,	Goosander,
American Goldfinch,	Wild Duck,
Marsh Wren,	Mallard,
Cat Bird,	Harlequin Duck,
Pewee Fly-catcher,	Red-necked Phalarope.
Red-eyed "	

LIST OF EGGS RECENTLY ADDED TO THE COLLECTION BY PURCHASE.

ORDER I.—BIRDS OF PREY.

Mexican Vulture,
 Duck Hawk,
 Squirrel "
 Black-capped "
 Orange-breasted "
 Prairie Falcon,
 Baird's Buzard,
 Jer Falcon,
 Red-shouldered Hawk,
 Marsh "
 Pigeon "
 Sparrow "
 Sharp-shinned "
 Long-eared Owl,
 Short-eared "

ORDER II.—CLIMBERS.

Yellow-billed Cuckoo,
 Hairy Woodpecker,
 Downy "
 Golden-winged "
 Lewis "

ORDER III.—PERCHERS.

King Bird,
 Pewee,
 Least Fly-catcher,
 Long-tailed Thrush,
 Long-tailed Mocker,
 Wood Thrush,
 Wilson's "
 Migratory " (*Robin*),
 Fire Crest,
 Stone-Chat,
 Blue Bird,
 Red "
 Summer Red Bird,
 Scarlet Tanager,

Cliff Swallow,
 Bank Swallow,
 Cedar Bird,
 White-rumped Shrike,
 Whip-poor-Will,
 Yellow-throated Vireo
 Warbling "
 White-eyed "
 Louisiana Tanager,
 Savannah Sparrow,
 Yellow-winged "
 Redpole,
 Sharp-tailed Finch,
 Sea-side "
 Lark "
 Ground Robin
 Titlark,
 Yellow-headed Blackbird,
 Mocking Bird,
 House Wren,
 American Creeper,
 Purple Finch,
 Wilson's Snow Bird,
 Black Snow "
 Ground Dove,
 Common "
 White-bellied Nuthatch,
 Boat-tailed Grackle,
 Yellow-shafted Flicker,
 Heerman's Song Sparrow,
 Chipping "
 Swamp "
 Field "
 Black-throated Bunting,
 Rose-breasted Grosbeak,
 Cardinal,
 Bob-o-link (*Rice Bird*),
 Red-winged Blackbird,
 Orchard Oriole,
 Baltimore "
 Grackle
 Common Crow,

Blue Jay,
Wild Pigeon.

ORDER IV.—GALLINACEOUS

Spruce Partridge,
Sharp-tailed Grouse.

ORDER V.—WADERS.

American Crane,
Sand-hill Crane,
Reddish Egret,
Great Blue Heron,
Louisiana " "
White " "
Great Blue " "
Least Bittern,
Bittern,
Green Heron,
Night " "
Esquimaux Curlew,
Oyster Catcher,
Black-necked Stilt,
English Snipe,
Spotted Sandpiper,
Bonaparte's Sandpiper,
Field Plover,
Rail,
Virginia Rail,
Common " "
Florida Gallinule,
Marsh Hen.

ORDER VI.—PALMATED.

Black Duck,
Blue-winged Teal,
Shoveller,
Greater Blackhead,
South Southerly,
Eider Duck,
Summer " "
King Eider,
Gannet, Solan Goose
White-headed " "

Western Goose
Frigate Pelican,
Brown " "
Common Cormorant,
Florida " "
Leach's Petrel,
Wilson's " "
Ring-billed Gull,
Western " "
Short-billed " "
Laughing " "
Wilson's Tern,
Cabot's " "
Caspian " "
Royal " "
Roseate " "
Short-tailed " "
Black Skimmer,
Caroline Grebe,
Grebe,
Arctic Puffin,
Foolish Guillemot,
Wrangel's " "
Crow " "
Murre.

The following Eggs were presented
as a gift by M. A. LECHEVALIER, Taxi-
dermist, of Montreal :

Canada Goose,
Great Black Back Gull,
Herring Gull,
Mallard,
Hooded Merganser
Coot,
Clapper Rail,
Meadow Lark,
Belted Kingfisher,
European Crow,
Royston " "
Red-breasted Partridge,
Hudson Bay Magpie,
Magpie,
Yellow-billed Magpie.

LIST OF ANIMALS.

1. *Lyncus rufus*. Wild Cat,
2. *Vulpes fulvus*. Red Fox,
3. *Castor fiber*. Beaver,
4. *Gulo luscus*. Wolverine,
5. *Phoca concolor*. American Seal,
6. *Hystrix hudsonius*. Porcupine,
7. *Mephitis americana*. Skunk,
8. *Lepus americanus*. Northern Hare,
9. *Arctomys monax*. Woodchuck,
10. *Fiber gibeticus*. Muskrat,
11. *Putorius vison*. Mink,
12. *Didelphis virginiana*. Opossum,
13. *Putorius noveboracensis*. New-York Ermine,
14. *Mustela pusilla*. Small Weasel,
15. *Sciurus niger*. Black Squirrel,
16. *Sciurus leucotis*. Gray "
17. *Sciurus striatus*. Striped "
18. *Sciurus hudsonius*. Red "
19. *Mus decumanus* Common Rat,
20. *Mus musculus*. Common Mouse,
21. *Arvicola albo-rufescens*. Light-colored Meadow Mouse.

LIST OF FISHES IN MUSEUM.

1. *Perca flavescens*. Yellow Perch,
2. *Lucioperca americana*. American Sandre,
3. *Centrarchus seneus*. Rock Bass,
5. *Pomotis vulgaris*. Common Pond Fish,
6. *Esox estor*. Maskinongé,
7. *Esox lusius*. Common Pike,
8. *Osmerus viridescens*. Smelt,
9. *Hyodon*. White Fish,
10. *Coregonus quadrilateralis*. Round Fish,
11. *Lepidosteus huronensis*. Gar Pike,
12. *Catostomus aureolus*. Gilt Sucking Carp,
13. *Catostomus communis*. Common Carp,
14. *Catostomus*. Carp,
15. *Catostomus pallidus*. Pale Carp, male
16. *Catostomus pallidus*. Pale Carp, female
17. *Scomber scomber*. Spring Mackerel,
18. *Gadus maculosus*. Eel-pout,
19. *Acipenser oxyrhincus*. Sharp-nosed Sturgeon,.
20. *Lumpus anglorum*. Lump Fish,
21. *Sebastes norvegicus*. Northern Sebastes,

22. <i>Platessa plana</i>	New York Flat-fish,
23. <i>Morhua americana</i>	Torsh or Rock Cod,
24. <i>Leuciscus nitidus</i>	Shining Dace,
25. <i>Morhua pruniosa</i>	Tom-cod,
26. <i>Anguilla macrocephala</i>	Bull-headed Eel,
27. <i>Salmo confines</i>	Lake Trout,
27. <i>Lamna caudata</i>	Long-tailed Porbeagle,
28. <i>Brosimius vulgaris</i>	Tusk or Cusk,
29.	Long-finned Trout, male,
30.	Long-finned Trout, female,
31. <i>Microstenis salmoides</i>	Gill,
32. <i>Microstenis ingricans</i>	Cuviers Gill.

LIST OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEDALS (WASHINGTON MINT) IN THE MUSEUM.

ARMY MEDALS

1. Washington before Boston.
2. Major-General Horatio Gates—Saratoga—1777.
3. Colonel George Crogan—for Sandusky—2nd Aug., 1813.
4. Major-General W. H. Harrison—for the Thames—5th Oct., 1813.
5. Governor Isaac Shelby—Battle of the Thames—5th Oct., 1813.
6. Major-General Winfield Scott—for Chippewa and Niagara.
7. Major-General Edmund Gaines—for Fort Erie—15th Aug., 1814.
8. Major-Gen. P. B. Porter—Chippewa, 5th July, 1814; Niagara, 25th July, 1814; Fort Erie, 17th Sept, 1814.
9. Major-General Brown, " " " " "
10. Brigadier-General Miller, " " " " "
11. Brigadier-General Ripley, " " " " "
12. Major-General Macomb—Plattsburg.
13. Major-General Zachary Taylor—Resaca de la Palmare—1846.
14. Major-General Z. Taylor—Monterey—Sept., 1846.
15. Major-General Z. Taylor—Buena Vista—22nd Feby., 1847.
16. Major-General Winfield Scott—Vera Cruz, &c.—1847.
17. Major-General U. S. Grant, N.S. N.L.A.—Vicksburg—Chattanooga

NAVY MEDALS

18. John Paul Jones—"Serapis."
19. Captain Thomas Tington.
20. Captain Hull—Capture of the "Guerrière."
21. Captain Jacob Jones—Capture of the "Frolic."
22. Captain Decatur—Capture of the "Macedonian."
23. Captain Bainbridge—Capture of the "Java."
24. Captain Lawrence—Capture of the "Peacock."

25. Lieutenant McCall.
26. Captain Perry—Capture of the "British fleet on Lake Erie."
27. Captain Warrington—Capture of the "Eperokiet."
29. Captain Blakeley—Capture of the "Reindeer."
29. Captain Thos. Macdonough—Capture of the fleet on Lake Champlain.
30. Captain Henley—" " "
31. Lieutenant Step. Cassin—1814—" " "
32. Captain Biddle—Capture of the "Penguin"—1815.
33. Captain Chas. Stuart—Capture of the "Cyane"—20th Feby., 1815.
34. Major-General A. Jackson—Battle of New Orleans—6th Jany., 1845.
35. Captain W. Burrows—4th Sept., 1813.

PRESIDENTIAL MEDALS

36. The Cabinet Medal.
37. Thomas Jefferson—1801.
38. James Madison.
39. James Munroe—1817.
40. John Quincy Adams—1825.
41. Andrew Jackson—1829.
42. Martin Van Buren—1837.
43. John Tyler—1841.
44. James R. Polk—1845.
45. Zachary Taylor—1849.
46. Millard Fillmore—1850.
47. Franklin Pierce—1853.
48. James Buchanan—1857.
49. Abraham Lincoln—1862.
50. Andrew Johnson—1865.

SOLE NATIONAL MEDALS.

51. Captain Perry—State of "Pennsylvania"—Lake Erie—10th Sept., 1813.
52. (*Missing*).
53. Major-General Winfield Scott—Chapultepec—Melino del Rey, &c.
54. Rescue of the Officers and Crew of the United States brig "Janus."
55. Captain M. Graham—"Rescue of Martin Kystice."
56. The Shipwreck Medal.
57. United States Coast Survey—Gallantry and Humanity—1846.
58. Japanese Embassy Medal.
59. Doctor Frederick Ross—Skill and Humanity.
60. Colonel Armstrong—Destruction of Kiltanning, "Indian Village"—1756.
61. Indian Race Medal.
62. Captains Creighton, Low, and Stouffer—1854.
63. Doctor Hossack—Arts and Science, &c.
64. Commodore M. C. Perry, Boston—Merchants, &c.

**MEMORANDUM OF A FEW SPECIMEN ROCKS, OF FOSSILS AND
MINERALS LEFT BY FRIENDS OF THE SOCIETY IN
THE MUSEUM.**

Laminated Limestone.	Iron Ore.
Stellie Caroline.	Carbonate of Copper Quarts.
Madrepore.	Chrome Iron.
Natural Loadstone, from Leeds,	California Gold Quarts.
Megantic.	Gray Granite.
Sulphuret of Copper.	Analcine.
Copper Quarts.	Gold, Silver, Copper and a Conglomerate
Epidotic Gneiss, from the County of	(conglomerate.) of Gravel and Gold,
Lanark	from the Alluvial Gold Mines of
Limestone from Montreal.	Ominica, British Columbia.
Quarts from Ottawa City.	Copper Pyrites.
Red Copper, Acton mine.	Syenite.
Galena from the County of Lanark.	Petrified Fish.
Yellow sulphuret.	Equisitum.
Granite from the Quarries of Syene.	Zoophite.
Coal specimens.	Basalt.
Amethysts from Lake Superior.	Sulphurate of Lead from Almeria.
Bivalved petrified shells.	Arnprior Marble.
Specular Iron Quarts.	Meteore Stone.
Copper Sulphuret from Sherbrooke.	

**CANADIAN WOODS, SHEWING OBLIQUE AND TRANSVERSE SECTIONS
AND BARK.**

PRESENTED BY DR. H. H. MILES.

(TWENTY-FOUR SPECIMENS.)

Prunus Americana.	Red Plum.
Thuja Occidentalis.	Cedar.
Fraxinus Sambucifolia.	Brown Ash.
Fraxinus Americana.	White Ash.
Fagus Ferruginea.	Birch.
Ulmus Americana.	White Elm.
Ulmus Rubra.	Red or Slippery Elm.
Larix Americana.	Tamarack or Larch.
(2) Abies Canadensis.	Hemlock Spruce.
Juglans Cinerea.	Butternut.
Betula Populifolia.	White Birch
Alnus Viridis.	Alder, Green or Mountain.

<i>Alnus Incana</i>	Alder, Red.
<i>Tilia Americana</i>	Basswood.
<i>Ostrya Virginica</i>	Iron or Lever Wood.
(2.) <i>Quercus Alba</i>	White Oak.
<i>Carya Amara</i>	Hickory.
(3) <i>Acer Saccharinum</i>	Maple.
<i>Spicatum and Dasycarpum</i>	Maple.
<i>Linum Usitatissimum</i>	Canadian Flax, stalk, flower, seed, and dyed.

MEXICAN AND CALIFORNIAN WOODS, ETC.

(THIRTY-SIX SPECIMENS.)

1. <i>Pinus Douglasii</i>	
2. <i>Larix Americana</i> , var.	Mexican Larch.
3. <i>Ulmus Americana</i> , var.	Mexican Elm.
4. <i>Magnolia</i>	Magnolia.
5. (2) <i>Betula Excelsa</i>	Mexican Birch.
6. <i>Salix Alba</i>	Mexican Willow.
7. (2) <i>Populus Alba</i>	Poplar.
8. <i>Betula Rubra</i>	Red Birch.
9. " "	Blue.
10. <i>Corylus Avellana</i>	Mexican Hazel.
11.	Mexican Apple.
12.	Green Osier.
13.	Walnut Wood.
14. <i>Vitis Perdifloria</i>	Vine Wood.
15. <i>Berasya Pennsylvanica</i>	
16. <i>Lynozia Vulgaris</i>	Mexican Lilac.
17. <i>Coesalpinia</i>	Peach Wood, or Nicaragua Wood.
18.	Mexican Bush Maple.
19. <i>Pyrus Aucuparia</i>	Mountain Ash, or Service Tree.
20. <i>Alnus Glutinosa</i>	Mexican Alder.
21.	Sumach.
22. <i>Carya Amara Paludinea</i>	Swamp Hickory, or Bitternut.
23. <i>Rosa Paludinea</i>	Mexican Swamp Rose.
24. <i>Morus Fructoria</i>	
25.	Fustic Root.
26. <i>Sequia Gigantea</i>	Wood, Foliage, Bark, Seed and Cone of the mammoth tree of California.
27. <i>Buxus Sempevirens</i>	Box Wood.
28 to 34. Duplicates, and not named in Mexican Woods.	

WOODS, FIBRES, ETC., TROPICAL AND OTHERS.

(SEVENTY-FIVE SPECIMENS.)

1. *Anona Cherimolia*.....Cherimoyer, West Indies.
2. *Guatteria Laurifolia*.....White Lance Wood, West Indies.
3. *Laplacea Hematoxylon*.....Blood Wood, Iron Wood, West Indies.
4. *Cinnamodendron Corticosum*.....With bark of the same—West Indies.
5. *Erythroxylon Areolatum*.....Redwood—West Indies.
6. *Arto-carpus Integrifolia*.....Jack fruit-tree—West Indies.
7. *Amyris Balsamifera*.....Red Candle Wood—West Indies.
8. *Cassia Emarginata*.....Yellow Candle Wood—West Indies.
9. (4) *Piscidia Erythrina do Carthig-nensis*.....Dog Wood—West Indies.
10. *Casuarina Equisetifolia*.....West Indies.
11. *Bruya Ebenus*.....Jamaica Ebony, with bark of same—West Indies.
11. (3) *Peltophorum Linnæ*.....Brazilito—West Indies.
12. *Cœsalpinia Coriaria*.....Divi-Divi—West Indies.
13. *Laguncularia Racemosa*.....White Mangrove—West Indies.
14. *Chrysophyllum Cainito*.....Star-apple—West Indies.
15. *Dipholis Salicifolia*.....White Bully Tree—West Indies.
16.Redheart?—West Indies.
17. (2) *Cocos Nucifera*.....Cocoa Nut—West Indies.
18. *Calophyllum Calaba*.....Santa Maria—West Indies.
19. *Dipholis Nigra*.....Black Bully Tree—West Indies.
20.Hogberry?—West Indies.
21. *Cordia Gerascauthus*.....Jamaica Elm—West Indies.
22. *Achras Sideroxylon*.....Naseberry Bully Tree—West Indies.
23. *Andira Inermis*.....Bastard Cabbage Tree—West Indies.
24.Cassada Wood?—West Indies.
25. *Simarula Officinalis*.....Bitter Damson—West Indies.
26. *Laurus Borbonia*.....Bluefield's Cedar, or Timbersweet—West Indies.
27. *Nectandra*.....Sweet-wood—West Indies.
28. *Amyris?*.....Black Rosewood—West Indies.
29. *Amyris Balsamifera*.....White Rosewood—West Indies.
30. *Fagus Sylvestris*.....Jamaica Beech—West Indies.
31. *Canella Alba*.....Wild Cinnamon—West Indies.
32. *Cupressus Thuyoides?*.....White Cedar—West Indies.
33. *Amyris?*.....White Torch, or Candle Wood—West Indies.
34. *Acaeta Arborea*.....Wild Tamarind—West Indies.
35. *Hymenea Courbarli*.....Locust Tree—West Indies.
36. *Pentadeshra Filamentosa*.....West Indies.

- 37, 38, 39. Specimens of heavy Australian Woods, Victoria, N. S. W.—(Names not given.)
40. *Eucalyptus* Victoria, N. S. W.
41. *Sarcocephalus Ovaifolia* Queensland, N. S. W.
- 42, 43, Australian Woods—Victoria, N. S. W.—(Names not given.)
44. *Eucalyptus Acerbica* Silver Gully Tree—Victoria, N. S. W.
- 45, 46, 47. Names not given—Victoria, N. S. W.
48. *Eucalyptus Odorata* (Peppermint Tree)—Victoria, N. S. W.
49. *Banksia Australis* Honeysuckle, Victoria, N. S. W.
50. *Banksia Integrifolia* Coast Honeysuckle, Victoria, N. S. W.
51. Musk Tree, Victoria, N. S. W.
52. *Bambusa Gigantea* Bamboo, West Indies.
- 58 to 66. Duplicates of *Laplacea Hæmatxylon*, *Erythroxylon Areolatum*, *Amyris, Balsamifera*, *Piscidia Erythrinia* and *Carthaginensis*, *Bruya Ebenus*, *Laguneularia Racemosa*, *Chrysophillum Canaito*, *Dipholis Salicifolia*, *Cocos Nucifera*, *Hogberry*, *Nectandra*.

VEGETABLES, FIBRES, ETC.

1. *Paritium Elatum* Cuba Matting, West Indies.
2. *Agava Americana* Fibre or Spanish Aloe, Mexico.
3. *Cocos Nucifera* Cocoa Nut Fibre, West Indies.
4. *Sparto Grass* and *Hibiscus Escalates*—Ceylon.
5. Fibre of *Thuya Gigantea*, with Bark and cordage of same, as used by inhabitants of Vancouver Island, British Columbia.
6. Skutched Fibre of "*Linum Usitatissimum Canadensis*" as from machine.
7. Fibre of Japanese Weed (Name not given), as prepared for substitute for silk or cotton, but used in manufacture for mixture with these.
8. *Humulus Lupulus*, fibre of, *Lupulane*, samples of unbleached, bleached, and spun into thread, Canada.
9. *Gutta-Percha* (extract of *Icosandra gutta*), as imported from the Malay Islands.

Two cases of Foreign Butterflies and Insects.

N. B.—The list of names being incomplete it has been found impossible to supply the missing ones.

LIST OF SPECIMENS OF WOODS OF THE CANADIAN FORESTS**WITH THEIR ENGLISH, FRENCH AND BOTANICAL NAMES.**

LIST OF SPECIMENS OF WOODS OF THE CANADIAN FORESTS.

WITH THEIR ENGLISH, FRENCH AND BOTANICAL NAMES.

Presented to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec by the Provincial Government.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1869-70.

- Specimens of Devonian Plants collected at the Fern Lodge, near St. John, N.B.—
Natural and Historical Society, St. John, N.B.
- Copy of Petition from the Commissioners for erecting a Metropolitan Church to
Lt-Governor Milnes, Quebec, 26th June, 1802,—W. A. Himsworth, Esq.
- Painting of an Astrolabe, supposed to belong to Champlain,—J. Langton, Esq.
- A Curiosity of Japan from the holy Island of Onesana, said to be a natural produc-
tion; also, a Japanese Map of Yeddo,—A. Campbell, Esq.
- A Fossil Egg?—J. Neilson, Esq.
- Foot of the Kirotherian.—Dr. J. B. Edwards.
- A Bronze Medal in commemoration of the Confederation of the Provinces,—Gov-
ernor-General and Council.
- Three Stuffed Birds, vis.: Golden-eyed Duck, an Owl, and a Curlew,—P. McNaugh-
ton, Esq.
-

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1872-72.

- From Alfred Sandham, Esq., Montreal, through J. M. LeMoine, Esq. :
1. Bronze Medal—Kebeca Liberata, 1690.
 2. " " Frs. Chs. de Lévis, Duc de D'Ampville, 1658.
 3. " " Montreal Y. M. C. Association.
- From M. Lee, Esq., Quebec :—A Button of Quebec Militia, 1775.
- From Col. Strange :—A Tusk of the African Boar.
- From Jos. Jones Atcheson, Esq., Baie des Chaleurs, through J. M. LeMoine, Esq. :—
Petrefactions from Baie des Chaleurs.
- From Maxime Dumont, Esq., through Dr. W. J. Anderson :—An Indian Arrow-
Head.
- From David Craig, St. Foye :—A Blue-Jay's Nest.
- From Master Lockwood :—A piece of Ore; one 10-centime, French Republic, 1871.
- From Dr. W. J. Anderson :—A Lake Superior Calumet.
- From David Craig, St. Foye :—An old Bayonet, 1760.
- From Dr. Johnstone, Pictou, through Dr. W. J. Anderson :—Dress of Anaitum
Islander—bag, sling, necklace, quiver, poisoned arrows, javelina.
-

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1871.

- By H. McHugh, Esq. :—Fossil Shells, &c., &c.
 By Miss J. LeSueur :—Three Cards pressed Fern Leaves.
 By Crown Lands Department :—One box of Specimens of Woods, the growth and produce of Canada.
 By Crown Lands Department :—Valuable Maps of the Province.
 By C. N. Montisambert, Esq. :—Collection of Medals and Old Coins.
 By Mrs. Gibb :—A valuable collection of European Birds, Audubon's Engravings, Medals, Coins, Casts, and Natural Curiosities.
 By A. Campbell, Esq. :—A Pigeon and a Postal Card, French Republic, 1871.
 By H. McKay, Esq. :—Indian Stone Implements and Pottery.
 By C. Baillargé, Esq. :—Two old Musket-barrels found in the Revetment at St. Lewis Gate, Quebec.
 By W. Drum, Esq. :—A piece of the Cat (ship) used by General Wolfe as a Floating Battery in 1759.
 By J. U. Gregory, Esq. :—Two Baleens of the Whale stranded at St. Joachim, August, 1871.
 By H. S. Scott, Esq. :—A sepia, or Squid.
 By Dr. Boswell :—Two Birds—an Owl and a Hawk.
 By Miss K. Douglas :—Four Skins of Egyptian Birds, including those of the Male and Female Partridge of the Nile.
 By A. Nicoll, Esq. :—A Bird, Jaw of a small Shark, and a Flying-Fish.
 By Lt.-Colonel Pope :—A Model of the Original Block-House Fort on Cape Diamond, previous to the erection of the present Citadel.
 By H. H. Miles, Esq. :—Samples of Woods and Plants.
 By Dr. W. R. Patton :—Small Case of South-American Insects.
 By the Hon. J. Fraser :—\$85.65 in Confederate State Bills.
 By W. D. Campbell, Esq. :—Two Loon Eggs.
 By John William Bligh, M. D., C. M., M. R. C. S. E. :—Greater and Smaller Albatross, 3; and two Petrels.
 By Dr. Brigham :—A Button with the Initials I. R. A.
 By Commander E. P. Ashe :—A Postage Card.
 By G. Staton, Esq. :—An Old Coin of 1672.
 By H. McHugh, Esq. :—One Pair Moose Deer-Horns.

DONATIONS TO MUSEUM.

1873.

- From A. Lechevalier, Esq., Montreal :—36 New Species of Eggs.
 " W. Judd, jr., Esq. :—A Shilling-piece of 1763.
 " Dr. W. Marsden :—A Ferry Token in use on the Ferry between Quebec and Levis in 1821.

From the Misses Joseph :—A Loon's Egg found at Rivière du Loup *en bas* 1; English Farthing, 5 and 10 centimes, Belgium; Ten and Two centimes, Italian; Five, Two, and One centimes, France; a Five centime French Republic; Twenty, Ten, Five, Two, and One Centimes, Switzerland; Two pièces Lava from Mount Vesuvius; One piece of Brick taken from a House in Pompeii; One piece of Lava from the excavations in Pompeii; One twisted Shell from Mobile; One Starfish from Rivière du Loup *en bas*.

- " J. McLaren, Esq. :—Some petrified Shells from Mingan Islands, North Shore St. Lawrence.
- " Dr. Marsden :—A Squid or Ink Fish.
- " Dr. Bligh, through Dr. Marsden :—The Fangs of a Rattlesnake.
- " J. K. Boswell, Esq. :—A Sheldrake ; a Black Woodpecker.
- " C. Lindsay, Esq. :—A Ten Centime of Charles X.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1874.

- Captain Jephson, R.N. :—Silver Coin of Emperor Maximilian; Two Moorish Bronze Coins of 1288.
- W. Marsden M.D. :—A very old Coin.
- J. Gillespie, Esq. :—A piece of Iron Pyrites.
- C. N. Montisambert, Esq. :—A Picture of the Old Recollet Church, Quebec.
- J. Fraser, Esq. :—Two Teeth of the Megatodon.
- W. Hunter, Esq. :—Seven Indian Arrow Heads.
- A Sandham, Esq. :—A Medal of Young Men's Christian Association, Montreal.
- W. Marchand, Esq. :—Two Rebellion Half Dollars, 1837-8.
- C. Tessier, Esq. :—A Coin of the Reign of Elizabeth; a Coin of the French Republic, 1792; a Medal of Napoleon III.
- Major Slone :—One Liard de France, 1657; One Silver Coin of ancient Date.
- An Old Stadaconian :—A Box containing Specimens of Sea Weed, Coral, Sponge, Star Fish, &c.
- L. McKay, Esq. :—A Brick from Nineveh, covered with Cuneiform Characters.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1875.

- From P. Poulin, Esq. :—Horns of Chamois; Rosary from Jerusalem.
- " G. Vogt, Esq. :—Silver coin of Chili; Italian Coin of Napoleon; 1 Russian Coin.
- " Mrs. Algernon Sewell :—Knife from India.

From J. S. Budden, Esq. :—Grape Shot Found on the Plains of Abraham.

" J. C. Cattanach, Esq. :—Silver Coin of the Republic of Haiti.

" A. Graham, Esq. :—Medal of George I.

" H. Dinning, Esq. :—Model of the "Royal William," first steamship that crossed the Atlantic—built at Quebec.

" R. Craig,—French Silver Coin found in the ruins of a house at St. Foye.

" Rev. C. W. Rawson :—Two copies reprints of the "Times."

" Col. J. F. Turnbull :—Reprints of the first copy of the "Times" and other newspapers.

" Prof. J. Douglas :—Tablet with Cuneiform Characters.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1876.

From Rev. H. D. Powis :—Two Specimens of Herpetology.

" Prof. A. N. Macquarrie :—Copper Coin of 1781.

" H. N. Jones, Esq. :—Copy of the "Times," 1805.

" Prof. J. Douglas :—Massachusetts Spy, (newspaper), 1776.

" A. P. Wheeler, Esq. :—Specimen of Ichthyology.

" R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq. :—Twenty Specimens or *fac-similes* of Confederate paper currency in circulation in the early part of the late war, United States.

" W. A. Holwell, Esq. :—Fruit of the Monkey Tamarind; Section of Lace-bark-tree; Two pieces of Chewstick, Powder of Chewstick, (in bottle;) Basket and Strainer made from the Wild Cucumber; Circassian Beans; Job's Tears; also a Descriptive Catalogue of the exhibits sent from the Island of Jamaica, to the Centennial Exhibition, 1876.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1877.

From Jas. Stevenson, Esq., President :—The receipt of the Quarter-Master of the American Army, encamped before Quebec, in Dec., 1775, for two tierces of rum and two barrels of fish, certified by Brigadier-Genl. Arnold.

From E. Fales, Esq. :—Tooth of a Walrus.

From J. J. Foote, Esq. :—The autographs of Lord Brougham and the Right Honble. Geo. Canning.

From W. Moody, Esq. :—Two paper "quinse sous" of 1837, dated at St. Luc.

From H. S. Scott, Esq. :—A piece of marble from the coffin of Robert the Bruce; two commissions bearing the autographs of George III, and of Sir R. Abercrombie, respectively; also, a coin of Pius IX (silver,) two new German coins, and two specimens of Italian paper money.

From J. J. Hatherly, Esq. :—Nine coins, English, Spanish and Italian.

From Prof. McQuarrie :—A. Wellington token.

From Geo. Morgan, Esq. :—Peruvian coin.

Two Spanish coins, 1775–1784.

From E. Fales, Esq. :—Peruvian coin, commercial token.

From P. Lee, Esq. :—English cutlass picked up in 1849 near the General Hospital.

From E. L. Montisambert, Esq. :—Collection of Pebbles.

From C. A. Duclos, Esq. :—\$50 Confederate Note.

From Lt.-Colonel Pope, the autographs of the undersigned persons :—

- 1 Her Majesty Queen Victoria.
- 2 H. R. H. Prince George, Duke of Cambridge.
- 3 Earl de Grey and Ripon.
- 4 Lord Panmure.
- 5 The Right Honble. Sidney Herbert.

From J. Pringle, Esq. :—One dollar bill of the Farmers' Bank of Rustico.

From Esdale C. Florance, Esq., of Philadelphia, U. S., through A. Joseph, Esq. :—
"Trente sous," a note current in Lower Canada, 1837.

From Dr. Marsden, sent by the late Dr. Bligh, Honorary member of the Society :—
Two New Zealand War Clubs.

From Lt.-Colonel Coffin, Ottawa :—Autograph memoir of Sir Etienne Taché relating
to the battle of Châteauguay and the attack on Plattsburg.

From Lt.-Col. Alphonse Melchior DeSalaberry, eldest son of the "Victor of Châteauguay," through Dr. W. Jas. Anderson, a sketch or plan of the Battle of Châteauguay; also, a massive walking-stick, with inscription thereon, purporting to have belonged to the Canadian hero.

From J. M. LeMoine, Esq. :—a Peacock in rich plumage.

Deposited in the Museum for safe-keeping by James Thompson Harrower, Esq., of Quebec :—"The Sword used by Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery, at the assault on Quebec, 31st December, 1775," and taken from him after death. This heir-loom was bequeathed to Mr. James Thompson Harrower, by his uncle, Deputy Comm. General J. Thompson, son of James Thompson of the 78th Highlanders, who served under Genl. Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, was "Overseer of Works" at Quebec, under Genl. Guy Carleton, in 1775, and who was charged with the burial of Brigadier-Genl. R. Montgomery, 4th January, 1776.

From Théophile Hamel, artist :—Oil painting of Geo. B. Faribault, Esq., President of Literary and Historical Society.

Portrait of His Excellency Governor Sir J. H. Graig.

A new and accurate map of the English empire of North America, published December, 1755.

Address of Lt.-Col. Geo. Bagot, commanding 69th (North Lincolnshire) Regiment on the occasion of intrusting to the City of Quebec their old and venerable colours, 5th November, 1870.

From Wm. Walker, Esq. :—Water colour drawing, *Quebec in the olden time*, (1822).

In safe keeping for heirs of family:—Portrait in oil of Admiral Saulisbury Pryce Humphreys (Davenport), who commanded H. M. vessel "Leopard" in the attack on the Chesapeake, 1807.

From Brigadier-General de Peyster :—Portrait of General Grant.

From Mrs. Poulin :—Portrait of Hon. Mrs. Aldworth.

From the Author :—Synoptical Chart of Birds of Canada, by J. M. Le Moine, Esq., prepared for the Schools of the Province.

From W. Kirby, Esq. :—Portrait of Brock's Monument in Westminster Abbey.

From Chs. V. Temple, of the "Highlands," Sillery :—A large glass case containing a curious collection of war trophies, acquired by the donor on his visiting the chief battle-fields of the Franco-Prussian war, 1871—Strasburg, Metz, Gravelotte, Sedan: Broken Bayonets, Helmets, Pistols, Spiked Helmet of the Prussian Body-Guard, Helmet of the Uhlans, Shako of French soldier, and a variety of other objects, also a pair of Stirrups from battle-field of Waterloo, a collection of Indian, Peninsula, Waterloo, and other British Medals, &c.

J. M. LEMOINE,

Quebec, 9th January, 1878.

THE FIRST OCEAN STEAMER.

The "ROYAL WILLIAM," 1831-33.

The quaint model of this historical vessel, now in the Museum of the Society, an object of lively interest to strangers, and to all Quebecers a proud record, it is deemed advisable to preserve the following letter of her late commander, Captain John McDougal,* recently forwarded to J. M. LeMoine, Esq., President of the Society, by one of its most ancient corresponding members, William King, Esq., of Bristol, Canada,—formerly of Quebec.

It bears directly on a recent controversy waged in England and in the United States, in which it was claimed that the great problem of ocean steam navigation had been first solved by the arrival at New York from England of the steamers *Sirius* and *Great Britain*, on the 23rd May, 1838.

The "great problem" had been solved five years previous, viz., in 1833, by the *Royal William*, draughted by the late and well remembered George Black, J. P., built for a joint stock company, composed of Wm. Finlay, Wm. Walker, and Jeremiah Leaycraft, of Quebec, Merchants, Trustees of the incorporated "Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Company," in Messrs. Shepherd & Campbell's shipyard, at *Anse des Mères*, Quebec, and was launched on the 28th April, 1831. The vessel,—intended for the Quebec and Halifax trade, was kept some time on that route,—left 5th August, 1833, for London, and steamed the whole way across, *whereas the Savannah, also a steamer, who had crossed the Ocean in 1819, did not use her engines, but her sails.* The Historian Robert Christie has republished another and very important letter of Captain McDougal's :—

LONDON, November 16, 1833.

"MY DEAR WILLIE,—

You will, I am certain, think me very neglectful in not giving you an earlier account of our proceedings with the *Royal William*. We left Pictou on the 18th of August, after having waited several days for some passengers who were expected from Prince Edward's Island, and for whom we had laid in a stock. We were very deeply laden with coal, deeper in fact than I would ever attempt crossing the Atlantic with her again. However, we got on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, where we experienced a gale of wind which rather alarmed my Engineer; he wished very much to go into Newfoundland. We had previously lost the head of foremast, and one of the engines had become useless from the beginning of the gale; with the other we could do nothing, and the Engineer reported the vessel to be sinking. Things looked rather awkward; however, we managed to get the vessel cleared of water, and ran by one engine after the gale ten days. After that, we got on very well, and put into Cowes to clean the boilers, a job which generally occupied them from 24 hours to 26 every fourth day. However, we managed to paint her outside while there; the inside we had previously done, which enabled us to go up to London in fine style. Ten days after her arrival she was sold, and has been since thoroughly repaired and coppered; her model is considered to be superior to any of their steamers here. I should not be surprised to hear that George Black had got orders to build some more like her. She was sold for ten thousand pounds, which, I believe, has all been paid. I am now employed by her owners at £30 per month, and I shall sail in a few days for Lisbon."

My dear Willie, believe me to be,

Ever sincerely yours,

[Sd.]

JOHN McDOUGAL.

MR. WILLIAM KING,
Quebec.

* Captain John McDougal expired at Quebec, in 1847, was buried in Mount Hermon Cemetery, at Sillery.

Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

Founded—1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter—1831.

PATRON:—The Honorable LUC LETELLIER DE ST. JUST,
Lieutenant-Governor, Province of Quebec.

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1879

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— IV —

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Fraser, John J.
Fraser, K. G.
Frew, A.
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Gibsone, W. C.
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Grant, R.
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Hamilton, Rev. G.
Hamilton, Rob.
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Hinton, T. B.

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Holt, J. H. [Sessions.
Holt, S. H.
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Hossack, J.
Hossack, J. F.
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— VI —

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Mackedie, D. C.
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McLeod, R.
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McGie, R.
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McNaughton, P.
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Maxham, A. J.
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Montizambert, Ed., Lt.-Col.
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Morgan, F.
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Murphy, S.

Murphy, P. C.
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McHugh, L. H.

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Neilson, H., M.D.
Nichol, A.
Neilson, T. R.

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Oliver, T. H., B.A.
O'Meara, D. D.
Ouimet, Hon. G.

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Patton, H. J.
Patterson, P.
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Peters, S.
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Pope, Edwin.
Prevost, Oscar.
Power, W.
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